STUDIES IN JAINA ART

by

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To

The Sacred Memory

of

My Father

PREFACE

Sheth Śri Bholabhai Dalal and Sheth Śri Premchand K Kotawala, the trustees of Śri Poonamchand K Kotawala Trust kindly decided to donate, from the above Trust, an annual grant of Rupees Two Thousand to the Jaina Cultural Research Society, Banaras This sum is being utilised in inviting different scholars to deliver lectures, in the Banaras Hindu University, on any aspect of Jainology (Jaina studies) and publishing such lectures Accordingly, I invited Dr Umakant Shah, who had submitted his Doctorate Thesis on Jain Iconography, to deliver lectures on Jaina Art He was generous in accepting the invitation and kindly co-operated by agreeing to deliver three lectures on Jaina Art

These lectures were delivered in the College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University, under the Chairmanship of Dr Vasudeva Sarana Agrawala, on 11th, 12th, and 15th March, 1954 They are printed here with slight changes as " Studies in Jaina Art ".

In his first lecture, Dr Shah has attempted a critical survey of the Jaina Art in North India, i e, in the regions North of the Vindhyas, such as Punjab, Sindh, Kachchha, Saurashtra, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Madhya Bharat, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihār, Bengal, Orissa etc , and even parts of the Deccan in the Bombay State In his survey he has referred to all important known cave-temples, shrines, sculptures, paintings, etc He has surveyed antiquities dating from earliest times to about the fifteenth cenrury A D Here he has discussed specimens of both the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara sects of the Jainas

Dr Umakant's predecessors in the field of Jaina Art Studies, namely, Cunnigham, Fergusson, Burgess, Buhler, Smith, Vogel, D R Bhandarkar, Coomaraswamy, Motichandra, V S Agrawala, Ramachandran, W Norman Brown, Sankalia, B C Bhattacharya and others have written on several difftrent aspects of Jaina Art, but Dr Shah has for the first time attempted here to give a comprehensive review of the whole field in an admirably brief and critical way From this attempt we obtain a consolidated view of Arts as patronised by the Jainas in North India.

I would like to draw the attention of scholars to one important point brought to our notice by Dr Shah in this review (and in his other published papers), namely, the contribution in Art of the School of Ancient West that flourished in Western India during the post-Gupta age This survey further helps us to visualise the spread of Jainism, which had its birth in Magadha, to different parts of India in different ages and to know how and when it was almost wiped out from Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. This study of available archaeological remains of the Jaina Sect will help historians to form a correct idea of the vicissitudes through which Jainism passed in its march through the ages in different parts of India and will especially help us to find out when and where

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the Śvetāmbara or the Digambara sect had grown powerful

The subject of his second and third lectures is Symbol Worship in Jainism. Here Dr. Shah has first of all reviewed the growth of the conception of the word Caitya in the Vedic, Buddhist and Jaina traditions. He then discusses the meaning and spread of the worship of the Stūpa, Stambha, the Caitya-Vṛkṣa, Āyāgapata, Samavasaraṇa, Siddha-Cakra, Svapna, Aṣṭamangala, Sthāpanā etc, as also of Aṣṭāpada, Sammeta-Śikhara, Pañca-Meru, Nandīśvara-dvīpa etc It is needless to say that this subject is being discussed here for the first time so comprehensively with a historical outlook and a reference to all the noteworthy symbols so far as Jaina Art and Worship are concerned.

His third lecture was illustrated by projected photographs of the subjects discussed in all the lectures Along with these, he showed some interesting specimens of the School of Ancient West including those of the Jaina bronzes from Akotā and Vasantagadh hoards For some years past, Dr Shah has been making a study of this Art School whose existence was known only from the reference of Tārānāth but was not proved hitherto with references to archaeological remains. This was very interesting in as much as his studies have thrown new light on the history of Art in Northern and Western India. This part of his lecture is not printed in this book but some results of his studies in this field are incorporated in the first lecture

I must express my thanks to Dr Umakant, on behalf of the Jaina Cultural Research Society, for agreeing to come to Banaras inspite of his indifferent health and delivering such stimulating discourses He also undertook to see the book through the press and supplied all the photographs illustrating the different aspects of Jaina Art

I am also grateful to Dr Vasudeva Sarana Agrawala for kindly consenting to preside over all the three lectures, to Dr Rajabali Pandey, of the College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University, for the kindness in providing the society with facilities to arrange lectures in the above College, through the Bhāratīya Pariṣad, and finally to the Trustees of Śri Poonamchand K Kotawala Trust (Sheth Śri Bholabhai Dalal and Sheth Śri Premchand K Kotawala) through whose munificence it has been possible to arrange and publish these lectures

Śri Balabhai Desai of Ahmedabad has kindly helped us in the preparation of the blocks, and Śri Bachubhai Ravat of Kumār Kāryālaya, Ahmedabad kindly consented to print the plates To the Manager, the M S University Press, Baroda, I am especially thankful for rushing the book through the Press inspite of heavy pressure of work

Banaras, 5
1 11-1955

DALSUKH MALAVANIYA
Secretary,
Jaina Cultural Research Society.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am thankful to the Director-General of Archaeology in India for his kind permission to obtain photographs from various circles and museums in India, throughout my studies in Jaina Art and Iconography as also to the Superintendents of all the circles of the Department of Archaeology and the curators of the various museums in India and outside who have extended their co-operation For the photographs reproduced here, I must gratefully acknowledge the Copyright and Courtesy of the Director-General of Archaeology in India, New Delhi for figures 1, 4, 7, 41, 51, 52, 81, 82, the Epigraphist to the Government of India, for fig 72, the Department of Archaeology, old Gwalior State for figures 24, 61, 62, 74, Curator, Madras Museum for fig 77, Curator, Patna Museum for figures 2, 15, 17, Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow, for figures 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 14A, 16, 88, the Curator, Indian Museum, Calcutta, for figures 18, 23, 36, 42, 44, the Curator, Mathurā Museum, for figures 25, 26, 27, 67 and 14B, the Director, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay for figures 3, 29, the Curator, British Museum, London for figure 35, the Superintendent of Archaeology, Eastern Circle, Calcutta, for figures 37, 38, the Superintendent of Archaeology, Central Circle, Patna, for figures 28, 41, Shri Jagan Mehta, Ahmedabad for figures 30, 32, 55, 57, 58, 65, 66, Dr A N Upadhye, Kolhapur for figure 63

I am also thankful to Muni Śrī Punyavijayaji for his kind co-operation and guidance throughout my studies and for the facilities provided by him in taking photographs from different Jaina Bhandāras and for loan of Manuscripts, to Dr A N. Upadhye of Kolhapur whom I could always refer to for elucidations of problems connected with Digambara Sect, to my friends and colleagues Śrī J S Pade-shastri, M A. and Śrī Pandit M R Nambiyar, of the Oriental Institute for checking certain references etc, to Dr Y J Tripathi for preparing part of the Index, and to the Manager, M S. University Press, Baroda, for excellent printing

I am especially grateful to Pandit Śrī Sukhalālji and Pandit Dalsukhbhai Malvaṇiā who took keen interest in these Studies and invited me to deliver the lectures

UMAKANT P. SHAH.

Studies In Jaina Art

I

I

A BRIEF SURVEY OF JAINA ART IN THE NORTH

Jainism is a living faith in India and its followers have spread over all parts from very early times A study of Jain antiquities scattered over extensively in the North as well as in the South is therefore indispensable for the reconstruction of India's Cultural History No attempt has yet been made to give a connected account of these finds The subject is both vast and intricate and cannot be given full justice in a small review Here only a critical outline of some of the more noteworthy specimens is attempted from Jain sites in North India including all states north of the Vindhyas, parts of the Deccan, almost the whole of Madhya Pradesha and Orissa Of these no definite evidence is available of any Jain remains in Assam, Burma, Kashmir, Nepāl, Bhūtān and Tibet while Kutcch in the West has yielded a few vestiges of the mediaeval period

It must be remembered that classification of arts on sectarian basis does not stand to reason, for no art is entirely Jaina, Buddhist or Hindu. The same artists who worked for one sect, were employed also by other sects in any particular unit of time and space So, when we talk of Jaina Art we discuss art specimens created under the patronage of followers of the Jaina Faith, for do we not find identical art style in the Jaina, Buddhist and Hindu specimens of the Kuṣāna period obtained from Mathurā ?

Pre Historic Period

Pre historic sites in India do not lend any definite clue to the existence of Jainism A few seals from Mohen-jo-Dāro showing human figures standing in a posture closely analogous to the free standing meditative pose (kāyotsarga mudrā) of the Jinas, [1] or the seal representing a male divinity seated in meditation, the prototype of Śiva [2], corresponding with later Jaina, Buddhist or Brahmanical sculptures in such postures, cannot, in the present state of uncertainty of the reading of the Indus-valley script, be definitely used as attesting to the Pre-historic antiquity of Jaina art or ritual. Jaina traditions

[1] Marshall, *Mohen-jo Dāro and the Indus Valley Civilisation*, I, pl. xii. 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 22 Ramaprasad Chanda, in Modern Review, August 1932, pp 152 ff.

[2] Marshall, *op cit.*, xii 17, 52 ff.

certainly ascribe to their first twenty-two Tīrthaṅkaras, a period covering millions of years B C., but such tales are not acceptable to a modern historian. Neminātha, the twenty-third Jina, was a brother (cousin) of Kṛṣṇa, but further evidence is necessary before connecting him with any Pre-historic finds The mutilated red-stone statuette from Harappā[1] (Figure 1) assigned to the Chalcolithic age is surprisingly analogous in style to the Mauryan torso of a Jina figure from Lohānipur, Bihār, (Fig. 2) but has in addition two large circular depressions on shoulder-fronts unlike any Jaina sculpture discovered hitherto Very probably it represents some ancient Yakṣa. However, the close similarity in styles of the two finds, establishes the continuity of Indian art down to the Mauryan age, and at once undermines older conceptions regarding the origin of the Buddha image (and consequently the Jina figure) in Central India from the model supplied by the Indo-Hellenic school of Gandhāra

Mauryan and Śunga Periods

I have elsewhere[2] discussed the tradition of Jīvantasvāmi Image worshipped at Vidiśā and Vītabhaya-pattana, from ancient works like the Āvaśyaka Cūrṇī, the Niśītha Cūrṇī and the Vasudevahindi. I have also shown that a sandal-wood portrait sculpture was carved in the life-time of Mahāvīra when he was meditating in his palace, about a year prior to his renunciation The statue came in possession of Uddāyana of Sindhu-Sauvīra[3] from whom King Pradyota of Ujjain carried it off after depositing an exact wooden copy at Vītabhaya-pattana The copy was later on burried in a sand-storm which wrought the destruction of the whole city Kumārapāla got it excavated and brought it to Anahilavāda-Pātaṇ according to contemporary evidence of the great scholiast and saint Hemacandrācārya

The tradition of Jīvantasvāmi images (*i e* images of Mahāvīra standing in meditation with a crown and ornaments on his person) started with the popularity of the original sandal-wood image carried off by Pradyota and deposited at Vidiśā (Bhelsā) in his territory The existence of this tradition known only from literature was recently supported by the find of a bronze of Jīvantasvāmi from Akotā, with an inscription on its pedestal in characters of c 550 A D, expressly calling it an image of Jīvantasvāmi (Fig 22). Another bronze of the same iconographic type, more beautiful and older,[4] but with the pedestal lost, is also obtained in this hoard (Figs 20-21) We have, therefore,

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[1] *Ibid* x a-d

[2] Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol I, No 1, pp 72 ff and Vol I, No 4, pp. 358 ff.

[3] For Sauvīra, see, Agrawal V. S, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, pp 37, 40, 50

[4] Shah Umakant P, *A Note on the Akotā Hoard of Jaina Bronzes*, published as Appendix IV in *Baroda Through The Ages*, pp 97 ff esp. see pp 99-100.

reason to believe that the tradition of a life-time sandal-wood image of Mahāvīra is reliable.

That the Jina-Image was in worship in the Mauryan Age is evidenced by the find of the highly polished torso of a Jina Image from Lohānipur near Patnā and this further lends support to the view that an image of Mahāvīra was carved in his life-time

The Jina Image, as I have suggested recently in my discussion on "Yakṣa Worship in Early Jaina Literature" has for its model the ancient Yakṣa statues [1] I have also suggested that the mode of worship in the Yakṣa-cult has largely influenced the worship in Jainism The close similarity of the Jina and the Buddha image, and the fact that both Jainism and Buddhism are heterodox cults which protested against the Vedic Brahmanical priestly cult shows that Buddhism could easily have been influenced by the worship of the Yakṣa and the Jina Images

That the earliest image of Buddha hails from Gandhāra is a mere accident as suggested by Kramrisch [2] and does not preclude the possibility of another earlier image being discovered in the land of Buddha's birth, as a product of the Native Indian School of Art Jayaswal's discovery of a Mauryan torso of a Jina figure from Lohānipur (fig 2) [3] proves on the one hand the authenticity of Jaina traditions on image worship and on the other hand the existence in Magadha of an earlier model for Jina images of early Christian centuries With the models and traditions of Yakṣa-worship already existing, the Magadhan artists had no need to look outside for inspiration , there is an equal chance of the case being quite the reverse, and Gandhāra could have followed the Magadhan conception The Jina image definitely preceded the Buddha image as a cult-object

Lohānipur is a continuation of the Mauryan sites at Kumrahar and Bulandibāg near Patnā Along with this highly polished torso were revealed from the foundations of a square temple (8′10″ × 8′10″) a large quantity of Mauryan bricks, a worn silver punch-marked coin and another unpolished later torso of a Jina in the kāyotsarga pose Evidently, both the torsoes represented some Tīrthankaras and the foundations are the earliest known site of a Jaina

[1] Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol III, no 1, pp. 55-71 esp see p 66 The truth of my statement would be obvious to any one who compares the Lohānipur torso with the ancient Yaksa statues

[2] Kramrisch, Stella, *Indian Sculpture,* p 40 Also see Shah, U P , in Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. I, No 4, pp. 358-368

[3] Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, XXIII. 1, pl. i-iv. The second torso probably belongs to the Gupta period according to Banerji-Shastri in a subsequent issue of the same Journal (vide Vol. XXVI 2 120 ff)

temple A mutilated head of the Mauryan period, discovered by Banerji-Shastri from the same site probably belonged to another Jaina sculpture [1]

Of the Mauryan age, no other Jaina relic is known[2] except a group of caves in Barābara and Nāgārjuni hills, [3] Bihār, dedicated by Aśoka and Daśaratha for the use of Ājīvika sect whose leader, Mankhaliputta Gosāla, was once a disciple and later a great rival of Mahāvīra The Mauryan ruler Samprati is hailed by traditions as a great patron of the Jainas and builder of numerous (Jaina) temples [4] No archæological evidence is however available today

Of the Śunga period, the only noteworthy Jaina relics are two groups of caves on the Udayagiri and the Khandagiri hills in Orissa [5] The Hāthigumphā, on the former, is a natural cavern with a long inscription of King Khāravela of the Cheta or Cheti (Chedi) dynasty Opinions are divided regarding the date of the record and the earlier reading showing that the 13th year of Khāravela's reign coincided with the 164th year of the Mauryan era has been ultimately discarded But the inscription is generally assigned to c. 150 B C on grounds of palæography Khāravela followed Jainism since his record opens with adoration to the Arhats (Tīrthankaras) and the Siddhas (liberated souls) The record shows that he invaded Magadha and brought back the statue (or the seat) of the Kalinga Jina carried away by the Nanda King Along with his queen, Khāravela provided shelters for Jaina monks at the Relic Depository of the Arhats on the Kumārī (Udayagiri) hill, erected many pillars and repaired old temples [6]

Both the groups of caves were excavated and for many years tenanted by the Jainas as shown by the inscriptions and reliefs in the Navamuni, Bāra-

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[1] Banerji-Shastri, *Mauryan Sculptures from Lohānipur-Patnā*, Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, XXVI 2 120 ff

[2] A fragmentary inscription found by Mahāmahopādhyaya G H Oza, from Bārlī (Ajmer District) refers to *majjhamikā* (Mādhyamikā), modern Nagarī near Chitor, and the year 84 of Mahāvīra's nirvāna See Indian Antiquary, LVIII 229 But the reading Vīrāt or Vīrāya is disputable, see, Sarkar, D C, *Bārlī Fragmentary Stone Inscription*, JBORS Vol 37, March 1951

[3] Kuraishi, *List of Ancient Monuments protected under Act VII of 1904 in the Bihar and Orissa Provinces (1938), 33 ff*

[4] *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya*, Vol III, gāthās 3285-89, pp 917-21

[5] Rajendralāl Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa*, 2 volumes Kuraishi, *op cit*, pp 244-283

[6] B M Barua, *Old Brāhmi Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves* (1929) Reference to all earlier interpretations and readings will be found in this work Barua revised his readings in *Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol XIV* (1938), pp 459 485 The new reading makes no mention of Kalinga Jina (statue)

bhuji and the Triśūla caves. To these sectarian differences are due, as shown by Marshall, many distinctive features of architecture, including among others, the entire absence of Caitya halls In the lower storey of the Mañchapuri cave, probably next to the Hāthigumphā in chronological order, are relief sculptures,[1] on a frieze, of poor workmanship, but in the depth of relief and plastic treatment of figures, showing a decided advance on Bhārhut. Of the other caves, the Ananta, Rāṇī and Gaṇeśa gumphās, probably date from 150 to 50 B C. Pendiment sculptures on door-ways of Ananta cave include a four-horsed Sun-god, a tree enclosed in railing (chaitya-vṛksa) and a figure of the so-called Māyā-devi lustrated by two elephants Such figures, variously recognised as Nativity of Buddha, or Gaja-Laksmī in Brahmanical specimens, are now correctly identified as Śrī-devī or Padmā-Śrī by Coomaraswamy and Moticandra She is the same as the Sirimā devatā of Bhārhut railings, the Śrī of the Vedic Śrī-sūkta and one of the fourteen dreams described in the Jaina Kalpa-sūtra Each door-way of the Ananta is adorned with a pair of three-hooded snakes on its arch This is interesting because of the possible association of Pārśvanātha (whose association with a cobra is well known in Jaina art and literature) with Kalinga, as suggested in the various lives of this Jina written by monks of both the sects According to Marshall, this cave belongs to a date not much earlier than the first century B C, while the Rānī-gumphā (fig 81), showing a further stage in the development of this rock-cut architecture, is the most spacious and elaborately carved of all Orissan caves The façades of its cells, enriched with pillasters and highly ornate friezes, illustrate scenes like hunting of a winged deer (fig 4), fighting, carrying off of a woman and so on, which, according to some, refer to incidents from the life of Pārśvanātha[2] who is said to have rescued and married Prabhāvatī, abducted by a Yavana ruler of Kalinga Dr Agrawala has now offered a much better explanation of the reliefs as referring to Vāsavadattā and Śakuntalā [3] The style of friezes in the upper storey is

[1] Ramachandran, T N, *The Mañcapuri Cave*, Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol XXVII 2, pp 103-108

[2] Shah C J, *Jainism in North India*, p 155 King Prasenajit, son of Narvarman, the ruler of Kusasthala, had a beautiful daughter called Prabhāvatī who, upon hearing the virtues of Pārśvanātha, fell in love with him Her parents agreed but kings of neighbouring states of Kalinga and others, desiring to have the Princess, attacked Kuśasthala and besieged it Pārśvanātha, upon request from Prasenajit ran to his rescue, subdued the opponents and married Prabhāvatī According to Hemcandra, the ruler of Kalinga was a Yavana King (vide Trisasti, parva 9 3 99 ff. pp 198 ff,). It is indeed interesting to note that the snake which is a special cognizance of Pārśvanātha figures on the archways of Anantagumphā, Khandagiri, Orissa, and that two Yavana warriors are also carved in relief in the Rānī Gumphā, Orissa.

[3] JISOA., Vol. XIV (1946), pp. 102-109.

original and vigorous while the modelling is tolerably correct. Of considerable interest however are figures of Yavana warrior and two burly individuals on ponderous animals, the bull-rider being strangely Assyrian in modelling and conception as a whole The Ganeśa cave, repeating the same themes, shows inferior workmanship and the degeneration proceeds further in later Jaya Vijaya and Alakāpuri caves. The style appears to have no descendants in Orissa [1]

At Pabhosā, near Kosam and Allahabad, are two caves bearing inscriptions, in characters of the Śunga Age, recording their dedication by Aṣādhasena from Ahicchatrā for the use of Kāśyapīya Arhats. It may be remembered that Mahāvīra belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra [2] Possibly this was meant to exclude its use by followers of Pārśvanātha who seem to have existed then though in small numbers (and especially to exclude occupation by the Ājīvikas). The Mathurā stūpa, originally dating from at least the beginning of first century B C, is treated in the next section

A very old bronze of Pārśvanātha, standing in the Kāyotsarga pose, with the right hand and a part of his snake-hoods overhead mutilated, exists in the collections of the Prince of Wales' Museum, Bombay (Fig 3) Its pedestal is lost and unfortunately there is no record of its original findspot (the bronze was acquired long ago) It bears close affinity in style with a standing terracotta figurine from Mohen-jo-Dāro [3] The limbs are long and slim and can also be compared with the Mohen-jo-Dāro Dancing Girl [4] The modelling of the torso, especially of the belley is closely allied to that of the Lohānipur torso discussed above and the Harappā red-stone (Yaksa) torso Thus the bronze belongs to the Ancient Indian art style which continued down to the Mauryan age The physiognomy is peculiar, comparable with that of the bronze female Dancer from Mohen-jo-Dāro and a few Mauryan and early Śunga

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[1] Mārshall, *Cambridge History of India,* I 638-642, see also remarks by Kramrisch in Barua's *Old Brahmi Inscriptions etc* (op cit), 307 ff., Brown, Percy, *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu),* pp 34-37

[2] Furhrer, A, *Pabhosā Inscriptions,* Ep Ind, II, p 243, Law, B C, *Kausāmbi in Ancient Literature,* Memoir 60, Arch Survey of India, pp. 3, 12 f 20, *The Age of Imperial Unity,* 98, 172, 175.

[3] See, Marshall, *Mohen-jo-Dāro and the Indus Valley Civilization,* Vol. III, pl. XCIV, Figs 9, 11, pl XCV, Figs 26 7, Mackay, *Further Excavations from Mohen-jo-Dāro,* Vol II, pl LXXII Figs 8-10, pl. LXXIII Figs 6, 10, 11, pl. LXXV Figs 1,21

[4] Marshall, Sir John, *op. cit*, Vol III, pl. XCIV. Figs 6-8. For terracottas comparable with this bronze, see, Gordon, D H., *Early Indian Terracottas,* Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Vol XI

This bronze of Pārśvanātha is discussed by this writer in the *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum,* No. 3, pp. 63-65.

Mother-Goddess terracottas from Mathurā, Hātharas and other sites in Northern India. Besides, this figure of Pārśvanātha bears no mark of Śrī-vatsa symbol on the chest as obtained on later sculptures.

It is difficult to assign a correct age to the bronze in absence of any record about its findspot etc, but the above mentioned stylistic relations make it certain that it cannot be later than c 100 B C. and may be earlier by a century or two

Kṣatrapa and Kuśāna Periods

Jaina traditions refer to the practice of erecting stūpas over ashes of Jinas. One stūpa existed at Vaiśāli (Basarh) dedicated to the Jina Munisuvrata[1] and another at Mathurā dedicated to Supārśvanātha. According to Jinaprabha sūri (14th century A D), the Mathurā stūpa was repaired in the time of Pārśvanātha (c 800 B C) and renovated by Bappabhaṭṭi sūri a thousand years later.[2] Excavations at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā, which disclosed remains of two ruined temples, and a large stūpa of brickwork, yielded a veritable storehouse of Jain antiquities ranging from c. 150 B C to 1023 A.D, including images of Tīrthankaras, toraṇas (gateways), Āyāgapaṭas (Tablets of Homage) railing pillars with reliefs of demi-gods and goddesses and a few sculptures including scenes from lives of Tīrthankaras, mostly assignable to the reigns of Kaniṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsiṣka Products of the Mathurā School of Sculpture, they offer an interesting study along with Buddhist and Brahmanical finds from other sites at Mathurā.

Of the Jaina finds, perhaps the oldest inscribed is the Āmohini Votive Tablet, followed by others including one set up by Sivayaśā[3] showing a stūpa with railing and approached through a torana gateway ascended by a flight of steps (Fig 7) Two nude dancing girls stand on the two sides of the gateway. A better view of a Jaina stūpa may however be obtained from another tablet, set up by Vasu, the daughter of Lonaśobhikā,[4] representing a stūpa of a high cylindrical type, with a basement showing arched niches The only other instance of such niches was obtained on a stūpa basement at Sirkap, Taxila (Śaka-Parthian period), with a double-headed eagle on one of them.[5] This led

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[1] *Āvaśyaka-Cūrṇi* of Jinadāsa (c 676 A D), pp. 223-227, 567.

[2] *Vividha Tīrtha Kalpa*, edited by Jinavijaya, pp 17 ff.
Smith, *Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā* (1901), p. 13.

[3] Smith, *op cit*, p 19, plate xii

[4] Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archæological Museum at Mathurā* (1910), pp 184 f, pl. V, Agrawal, *JUPHS.*, XXIII (1950), pp. 69-70, has corrected the earlier reading of the inscription on this Tablet.

[5] Marshall, *Cambridge History of India*, I, 633, also see *Guide to Taxila* (3rd Ed), pl. xiii, p 88 Dr Motichandra, कुछ जैन अनुश्रुतियाँ और पुरातत्त्व, in Premi Abhinandana Grantha, pp. 229-249.

Marshall to associate the Sirkap stūpa with Jaina faith but the total absence of any other Jaina relic in the whole site excavated hitherto cannot be disregarded Jaina traditions only speak of a dharmacakra (Wheel of Law) set up by Bāhubali, the son of Ṛṣabhanātha, the first Tīrthankara, at Taxila.[1]

In the Kuṣāna period, the Jainas seem to have worshipped, besides the stūpa, the caitya-tree, the dharmacakra, āyāgapatas, dhvaja-pillars, auspicious

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[1] *A Guide to Taxila* by Sir John Marshall, pp 88 ff and pl xiii Āvaśyaka Niryukti with commentary of Haribhadra, I 332 and pp 144 ff

It is said that when Rsabha went to Taxila, he reached after dusk, Bāhubalī (ruling at Taksaśilā) thought of going to pay his homage next morning and pay due respects along with his big retinue But the Lord went away and from here, travelled through *Bahali-adambailla*, *Yonaka* and preached to the people of *Bahali*, and to *Yonakas* and *Pahlagas*. Then he went to *Aṣṭāpada* and after several years came to Purimatāla near Vinītā, where he obtained Kevalajñāna These verses show that Taksaśilā was probably included in the province of Bahali (Balkh-Bactria) in the age of Āvaśyaka Niryukti.

Next morning when Bāhubali came to know of the Master's departure, he felt disappointed and satisfied him self only by worshipping the spot where the Lord stood and installing an emblem—The Dharma-Cakra—over it (vide, Haribhadra's *Āvasyaka Vṛtti*, pp 147 148) The *Vasudevahindi* and the *Paumacariyam* do not mention this account of origin of Dhamma-Cakka at Takṣaśilā, installed and worshipped by Bāhubalī

Other writers following Marshall regard this as a proof of the Jaina tradition that Bāhubalī installed the Dharma-Cakra at Taxila (Dr Sukthankar in the Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India for 1914 15, pp 2 ff and also Dr Motichandra कुछ जैन अनुश्रुतियाँ और पुरातत्व, *Premi Abhinandana Grantha* (Hindi), pp 229 ff But it will be seen that the earliest known text referring to this tradition is *Āvasyaka Niryukti*, whose traditional date is not acceptable and that early Digambara sources do not refer to this incident The *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya*, V 5824 refers to Cakra which the commentator explains as *Uttarāpathe Dharma-cakram*. (Vol V, p 1536)

It would, therefore, be proper to differ any conclusions till some definitely early Jaina antiquities are excavated at Taksasilā, Sirkap or at a site nearby. It can only be said that sometime in the 3rd or 4th Centnry A D, there probably was near Taksaśilā, a Jaina site whose origin was attributed to Bāhubalī, but the Jainas do not seem to have been able to establish long standing strongholds in the North-West (Gandhāra) and Western Punjab and if at all anything existed, it was wiped out in the Hun and Muslim invasions. There did exist a sacred spot where Dharma-Cakra was worshipped, in Northern India (Uttarāpatha), which was more popular with Śvetāmbara Jainas, but whose identification with the Sirkap stūpa need not be regarded as final.

symbols like the svastika, the Śrīvatsa mark, the full-blown lotus, a pair of fish etc, as also images of Tīrthankaras in the kāyotsarga and dhyāna mudrā,[1] the goddess Sarasvatī,[2] and a few other demi gods. All the figures of Tīrthaṅkaras are nude, showing that the difference between images of the Digambaras (sky-clad, worshipping nude images) and the Śvetāmbaras (white-robed, adoring Tīrthaṅkara figures wearing a lower garment) was posterior to the Kuṣāṇa period Recognising symbols (*Lāñchana*) of the various Tīrthaṅkaras were not evolved and the pedestals of Jina figures contained devotional scenes of the dharmacakra usually placed with its rim to the front on a pillar Tīrthankaras were recognised with the help of inscriptions on pedestals giving their names Scenes of the five auspicious events (*pañca-kalyānakas*) from the life of each Jina were carved, possibly as a decorative motif, as can be inferred from a fragment showing the goat-headed Nemesa[3] who is famous in Śvetāmbara Jaina texts for his act of transferring the embryo of Mahāvīra from a Brāhmin lady to a Kṣatriya one. Another remarkable specimen of Śunga period, No J 354, Lucknow Museum, probably represents the dance of Nilāñjanā before King Rsabha[4] (fig 5) A Tablet of Homage was set up by Āmohinī representing Āryavatī (a respectable lady) in royal costume with an attendant holding a parasol This Āryavatī[5] probably represents the Mother of a Jina (more likely of Mahāvīra), since parents of the Jinas received special veneration from the earliest times Other noteworthy finds include an image of Sarasvatī, the earliest discovered representation of this goddess in India, and four fold Jina figures (*pratimā-sarvato-bhadrikā* of inscriptions) with Ādinātha, Pārśva and two other Jinas, one on each side[6] These figures are based upon the ancient Jaina tradition of Samavasarana[7] square or circular

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[1] See Luders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, Epigraphia Indica, X, Appendix

[2] Shah, U P, Journal of the University of Bombay, Sept 1941, 198 f. Fig 1

[3] Buhler, *Specimens of Jaina Sculptures from Mathurā*, Epigraphia Indica, Vol II, 311 ff

[4] For the story of the Dance, see C. R. Jain, *Rsabhadeva*, p. 108. Agrawala V. S, Jain Antiquary, Vol. X (1944), pp 1-5, suggests a different interpretation and identifies it as a scene of birth-celebration of Mahāvīra, but my suggestion helps us to identify the standing figures as Lokāntika gods and would seem to be more probable

[5] Smith, *op cit*, pl XIV, p. 21, Agrawala, V S, *Guide to Lucknow* Museum, p. 14, Fig 1.

[6] Smith, *op cit*, pp. 46 ff pl xc

[7] D. R. Bhandarkar, *Jaina Iconography*, Indian Antiquary, pp. 125-30, 153 ff.

assemblies erected by gods for the Sermons of the Jinas, wherein, on a raised platform in the centre sits a Jina on one side with images of the same Jina installed on three remaining sides to make him visible to the whole audience. Representation of four different Jinas on the four sides, is, therefore, an advancement upon the original earlier conception of a samavasaraṇa or a Caumukha sculpture Therefore, the Jina image-worship at Mathurā in the Kuṣāṇa age was of a long standing Even the stūpa at Mathurā was pretty old since an inscription on a Jaina pedestal of this period refers to it as the Vodva Stūpa, built by the gods (*devanirmite vodve thupe*)[1], clearly indicating that its origin was forgotten in c second century A D. Haribhadrasūri (c 7th century) called it devạnirmita, possibly because he did not know its origin or the name of the Jina to whom it was originally dedicated,[2] only later texts like the Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa of Jinaprabhasūri ascribed it to Supārśvanātha. Probably the stūpa enshrined relics of Pārśvanātha, a historical figure, who died 250 years before Mahāvīra's nirvāna

The Mathurā Art was rather primitive and the human figures are stiff and heavy However, it was filled with a spirit of naturalism and freedom from canonical injunctions and shows, on the one hand, a direct continuation of the old Indian art of Yaksa primitives and of Bhārhut and Sāñchī and on the other, the classical influence derived from Gandhāra This second phase is more conspicuous in Buddhist sculpture from Mathura.

At Jūnāgadh, Saurāṣtra, near Bāvā Pyārā's Math, are a group of about

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[1] The inscription refers to 'Vodva Stūpa, built by Gods' which shows that in the first two centuries of the Christian era, a stūpa existed at Mathurā, which was regarded as a very ancient one and the age of its erection was forgotten. But the inscription does not make it clear that it was a stūpa dedicated to Supārśvanātha Jinaprabha is the only writer who explicitly says so There were in all five Stūpas at Mathurā as can be inferred from the expression Pañcāstūpānvaya used in the Pahārpur Copper plate and other sources (vide *Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report 1927-28*, pp 107f, Premi, *Jaina Sāhitya Aur Itihāsa*, p 497, for Pañcastūpānvaya, see Pahārpur Grant dated in S. 159 = 478 A D) It is however not impossible that a stūpa dedicated to this Jina also existed at Mathurā But the finds from Kankālī Ṭīlā make no reference to Supārśva in any of the inscriptions and it is Pārśvanātha who is popular at Kankālī Ṭīlā It is therefore advisable to regard the Vodva Stūpa, built by gods as referring to a stūpa of Pārśva rather than of Supārśva Either copyists of Jinaprabha's text or Jinaprabha himself (being so late in age) made the mistake of regarding the stūpa of Pārśvanātha as dedicated to Supārśva

[2] Smith, *op cit*, 13, plate vi, *Vyavahāra-Bhāsya*, 5 27-28, *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāsya*, V 5824, VI 6275, also *Āvaśyaka Niryukti* with comm. of Haribhadra, I, p 453.

twenty monastic cells, arranged in three lines, with a very early form of Caitya window ornament over cave B [1] Cave F is a primitive cell, flat roofed, originally with four pillars, the back being like a semi-circular apse Cave K in this group has two cells with carvings of the auspicious pot-and foliage (*maṅgala-kalaśa*) and other symbols like the *śrivatsa*, *svastika*, *bhadrāsana*, *minayugala*, etc found on the Mathurā āyāgapatas. These symbols could not conclusively establish the Jaina character of these dwellings but the discovery of a mutilated inscribed slab (burried in front of cell I) of the time of the grandson of Jayadāman (Rudrasena, the son of Rudradāman), referring to those who have obtained *Kevala jñāna* and conquered death and old age shows that at least in the second century A. D [2] the caves were in the hands of the Jainas The absence of any other Buddhist symbol or the stūpa is significant. It would not be wrong to suppose that the Jainas had a monastic establishment near Girnār, Other groups of early caves in Saurāstra, at Talājā and Sānā, assigned to this period by Burgess, do not supply sufficient evidence regarding the faith to whom they were dedicated [3] The presence of a stūpa in each of the two groups of Talājā and Sānā shows [4] that they probably belonged to the Buddhists since none of the well known Jaina caves in India show stūpa-worship

Pre Gupta and Gupta Periods

Of the so called dark period very few antiquities have come to light. But a few Jaina bronzes from Chausā near Buxur (Bihār), now in the Patnā Museum, though of crude workmanship, are valuable since they show the continuity anc extent of influence of the Mathurā School (Fig 17), some of them show Gandhāra influence

The cult image of the Kusāna period, which, in the words of Coomaraswamy, was a magnificent primitive, clumsy, passes through a gradual evolution and takes its place in architecture of the Gupta age. [5] Some of the Chausā bronzes belong to this period but the transition would be better marked when stone specimen are discovered

To this period is assigned the Son-Bhaṇdāra cave, Rājgir (Bihar), which has an inscription in characters of c 1st or 2nd century A D stating that Muni Vairadeva, jewel among teachers and of great lustre, caused to be excavated

1, 2, 3 Burgess, *Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kuchh, Archæological Survey of India, New Imperial Series*, II, 139 ff Sankalia, H D, *Archæology of Gujarat*, 47 53 *Age of Imperial Unity*, p 418 suggests he was Dāmayasada or Rudrasimha I

4 A few more halls are reported to have been discovered recently on one side of the hill at Talājā, by Shri M N Deshpande of the Western Circle, Baroda They are being cleaned.

5 Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, 71

two caves fit for residence of Jaina ascetics, with images of the Arhats (Jinas) installed therein.[1] The second cave is the so-called Vaiṣṇava cave nearby. It should be noted that these caves, meant to be rock-cut shrines fit for residence of Jaina monks, were of a very simple design This Vairadeva seems to be the great Śvetāmbara ācārya Vajra who died in the 584th year of Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa (57 A D)[2]

On the Vaibhāra hill, Rājgir, is a ruined temple consisting of a central chamber flanked on all sides by a row of cells and containing sculptures of the transitional age discussed below Adjoining the east wall of and on a lower level than that of the main building is another room having, (in one of its niches,) a seated figure of Neminātha (Fig 18) with a fragmentary inscription, in Gupta characters, referring to Chandragupta (the second)[3] This is the earliest specimen assignable to a fairly accurate date showing the introduction of recognising symbols of Tīrthankaras In this case, the conch symbol flanks either side of the dharmacakra in the centre of the pedestal. But a more interesting feature of the sculpture is the figure of a young prince, beautifully carved, standing in front of the wheel which also serves the purpose of his halo He is not Nemināṭha, the Prince, as was suggested earlier, but he is the *cakra puruṣa*, a conception of the Gupta Age On his two sides are two small Jinas seated in padmāsana, with shaven heads like the famous Buddha from Mânkuvar Three standing figures of Tīrthankaras in other niches seem to belong to circa fourth century as they retain to some extent the stiffness of shoulders of the Kuṣāna period (fig. 23) Comparable with these are two standing sculptures in the Gwalior fort, Central India, which are products of the same school of sculpture, though with local colour Another interesting specimen of the Gupta period having two flying garland-bearers in front of the halo carved more elaborately than the plain Kuṣāna type with a scalloped border, was discovered from Besnagar, Gwalior State[4] Two most beautiful specimens of the Gupta period, partly mutilated, are preserved in the Mathurā Museum (Nos B 6 & B 33) Exquisite specimens of art, they (figs 25, 26) seem to be related to the famous Banāras school of sculpture.

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[1] *Archæological Survey of India*, *Annual Report, 1905-06*, p 98, 166

[2] Shah, U P, *Muni Vairadeva of Soṅ Bhaṇḍāra Cave Inscription*, JBRS, December, 1953, pp 410-412, and in *Ātmānanda-Prakāśa* (Gujarāti Monthly, Bhāvanagar), May 1953 For the age of this cave see Sarasvati S. K, in *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp 502 f

[3] First published by Chanda, Ramaprasad, *A S I A. R 1925-26*, 125 ff.

[4] *Vikrama-Smṛti-Anka* (Hindi) plate opposite page 703 For other sites in the Gwalior State see, Gadre M. B, *Archæological Museum, Gwalior* and his '*A Guide to the Archæological Museum, Gwalior*' and *Annual Reports of the Archæological Department, Gwalior State.*

At Sārnāth, near Banāras, is preserved a figure of Ajitanāth (G. 61, Sahani's Cotalogue) rightly assigned by Sahani to the Gupta period[1]. A few more sculptures of the Gupta period are preserved in the Lucknow Museum, one of them, a headless statue of Mahāvīra, is dated in Gupta year 113, while some finer specimens are J. 104, O 181, in this Museum and B. 7 (fig 27) in Mathurā Museum, besides a few more in both the museums.[2]

In one of the Udayagiri caves, Gwalior State, is found an inscription recording its excavation, in G E 106 (reign of Kumāragupta I), with a figure of Pārśvanātha, "awe-inspiring on account of the horrible fangs of a snake carved over his head" The relief-sculpture is however lost At Kahaon in U P, is a free-standing pillar, dated in the Gupta year 141, with a figure of Pārśvanātha at the base and four standing Tīrthaṅkaras on the top[3]

At Pahārpur, in Bengal, has been excavated the site of a monument with Buddhist and Brahmanical remains. Here was discovered a small figure of a Jina and a copper-plate, issued from Pundravaradhana, dedicated to the worship of Arhats at the Jaina Vihāra (monastery) of Vata Gohāli, headed by a monk of the Pañcha-stūpa lineage (anvaya) of Banāras The grant is dated in the G E 159 = 478 A D The Vihāra which was thus established in the 4th century, if not earlier still, probably occupied the site of the great temple and monastery unearthed at Pahārpur[4]

In the north-west, at Murti near Ketās (in the Gandhala valley) are situated the remains of a sanctuary and a stūpa which Stein identified with the site of Simhapur of Hieun-Tsang's description The Chinese traveller referred to a Deva-temple and a stūpa where the white-robed ones practised rigorous austerities A few sculptures from this site, brought to the Lahore Museum, are assigned to the Gupta period by Stein[5]

The Deogarh temples have not been fully explored At Deogarh fort,

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[1] The sculpture is now in the collections of Bhārata Kalā Bhavana, Banāras Hindu University, and antedates the Rājgir figure of Neminātha noted above

[2] For Jaina sculpture of the Gupta age, see, Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, III* 66-68, Banerji, R. D, *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 104, 106, 108, 129 and pl xviii, Agrawal, V. S, *Catalogue of the Mathura Museum*, JUPHS., xiii, pp. 52 ff.

[3] See f n 3 on p. 15.

[4] *Epigraphia Indica*, XX. 59 ff *History of Bengal*, I, p. 410.

[5] Stein A, *Archæological Reconnaissances in N.W India and S W. Iran* (1937), pp. 47 ff. and plates Not a single Jaina sculpture from this site is published. A few later ones exist in Lahore Museum, but I could not obtain photographs.

Jhānsī District, Madhya Bhārat, there are a number of loose sculptures near temple 12 (some of which were being fixed in the compound wall when this writer visited the site) A few images in this group seem to go back to the end of the Gupta period. The site of Budhi Chanderi in the same district is equally promising. Architecture and sculptures from both the sites deserve special studies

One of the most exquisite Jaina bronzes had recently been discovered from Akotā, near Baroda in Western India (Bombay State). It is a standing image of Ṛṣabhanātha with pedestal lost and badly mutilated at the back, hands and legs (fig 19) Its importance as the earliest known Jina image with a dhoti is discussed by me separately in the Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, Vol I, No 1. Its value as a specimen of the art of Gupta Age is no less, the head offers an excellent study of a Yogi in the dhyāna mudrā, with eyes half closed and shining with the light of supreme knowledge In the proportionate modelling of the torso and the legs, this bronze, though smaller in size, is superior to the Sultānganj Buddha. It should be assigned to c 450 A D.

Transitional Period

The transitional period from Gupta art to the provincial schools of art witnessed a remarkable revival and growth of Tantric practices in Brahmanism, Buddhism as well as Jainism Pantheons and rituals rapidly multiplied, resulting in new varieties of icons and temples dedicated to them The artist had a wider range of subject matter but the growth of rigid canonical injunctions gradually made art productions of the mediæval period lifeless and mechanical The transitional period from about 600 to 1000 A D is, therefore, very important in the history of Indian art and culture It has besides produced some of the most well-known specimens of Indian art in architecture, sculpture and painting

Five bronzes from Valabhī, illustrated in fig 29, belong to c. sixth century A D.[1] Of this age, probably the earliest known dated specimen is a standing bronze figure (fig 30) from Vasantagadh,[2] old Sirohi State, Western India, with an inscription on its pedestal giving the date Samvat 744 (687 A D)[3] Another similar bronze without inscription and a few smaller ones from

[1] First discovered by Dr. D R Bhandarkar, discussed by this writer in Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, no 1, p 36

[2] The Jaina Bronzes from the Vasantagadh Hoard are discussed in a separate paper (with plates) by Shah, U P, in the forthcoming first number of the Lalita-Kalā, being published by the Lalita-Kalā Academy, India.

[3] Muni Kalyāṇavijaya in *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā*, new series, 18.2. pp. 221-31. The inscription records the name of the *sculptor Śivanāga* and says that the second (standing) bronze (of Ādinātha) was also cast by him. These

the same site also belong to this period. The style of the dhoti (lower garment) put on by the Jina corresponds with that of a standing stone figure of Pārśvanātha from Rohtak near Delhi.[1] The Rohtak figure is however a little later in age but it shows the extent of the influence of the art of old Gujarāt and Mārwār. Of about the same period is the large Mahuḍī (Baroda State) bronze which is stylistically closely allied to the famous Nālandā bronzes[2] Other noteworthy figures are a small bronze of Sarasvatī from Vasantgaḍh,[3] two metal sculptures in the Sīmandhara temple, Ahmedabad (which are possibly slightly later) and three standing bronze figures in Bhinmāl, Mārwār.[4] The stone sculpture of Pārśvanātha at Chārūpa, North Gujarāt, also belongs to c 8th century. Two smaller bronzes from Mahudī and the group of rock-carvings at Dhānk, Saurāṣtra, (Fig 31) belong to this period[5] The Dhāṅk sculptures show a Kubera-like two-armed yakṣa and a two-armed Ambikā yaksī, here attending upon Pārśvanātha

A fourfold (Caumukha) Jaina sculpture (Fig. 28) from the Sonbhaṇḍāra cave, Rājgir, and a figure of Ādinātha, with the name of a monk Vasantanandi inscribed (c 8th century A.D) on the pedestal, from the ruined brick shrine at Vaibhāra hill, Rājgir, are typical examples of Jaina sculptures of the Eastern School To the next century may be assigned a few more sculptures from the same site and a stone sculpture from monastery no 9, Nālandā A four-armed goddess (Fig 41) from this last site probably represents the Jaina yakṣī Padmāvatī, and is a unique iconographic specimen from North India, assignable to the 9th or 10th century[6]

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bronzes from Vasantgadh are hollow from inside and filled with a light-weight core They are at present worshipped in a shrine at Piṇḍawāda near Śirohi.

[1] Bhattacharya, B C *Jaina Iconography,* pl. VI.

[2] *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Baroda State, 1939,* 6-11, pl. iv-vi. Sankalia, *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, I,* 2-4, 185 ff Mr Gadre assigns the fragmentary inscription on its prabhāvali to c. 300 A D which is certainly incompatible with the style of the big Mahuḍī figure No estampage is published.

[3] Shah, U P., *A Female Chaurie-Bearer from Akotā,* Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, I, 1, wherein this as well as two other Tīrthankaras of c 7th-8th century A D. are discussed and illustrated.

[4] Three such bronzes of c 8th century A.D allied in style and technique to Vasantagaḍh dated bronzes, are lately discovered by this writer from Bhinmāl where they are being worshipped in a Jaina shrine.

[5] Sankalia, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* July 1938, 427 ff. *Archaeology of Gujarat,* 160 ff It is not possible to assign to the sculptures a date earlier than 7th century A.D.

[6] *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report for 1925-26,* 125 ff. and

Rock-carvings of the Navamuni, Bārabhuji and the Triśūla caves, Orissa, with figures of Tīrthaṅkaras and attendant yakṣiṇīs, are of great iconographic value, though they represent crude specimens of Orissan art in c.900 A.D.[1]

Among temples of the transitional period may be noted two small Jaina shrines at Thān in Saurāṣtra, described by Cousens.[2] Square in plan, these simple shrines seem to have once had a small porch in front constructed of huge blocks of stone, with a plain exterior and a single band of scroll on the door-way, the smaller of the two shrines has a much damaged Jina on the dedicatory block, while the larger one has a mutilated figure of Ambikā against its back wall. With this type may be compared the small Jaina temple of Pattainī devī at Pithora, Unchchherā State, near Bhārhut. The door way carvings of this temple suggest that the temple belongs to the post-Gupta period. The Pattainī devī, enshrined in it, is however a later but unique sculpture of Ambikā with twenty-three other yaksiṇīs carved on her three sides.[3]

A later specimen is the Mahāvīra temple at Osiā, old Jodhpur State, Mārwār. At Osiā is a group of Hindu fanes of 8th-10th centuries closely resembling the style of those at Eraṇ, Pathārī, Āmvām and Jhalrāpātan. The Mahāvīra temple, enclosed in a courtyard containing a row of subsidiary shrines of the 10th century, was built in the reign of Vatsarāja of the Pratihāra dynasty (770-800 A. D.). It has an open porch, a closed hall (sabhāmandapa) and a sanctum surmounted by a spire. The spire was rebuilt in the 11th century when a torana (fig. 53) and a nālamandapa (second porch) led by a flight of the steps were added.[4] A loose plaque of 1075 V. S. representing Mothers of twenty-four Jainas, each with a child on her lap, preserved in the courtyard,

pls. lvi-lvii, *Report for 1930-34*, 165 f. pls. cxxxviii, d and lxviii, b., *Report for 1935-36*, pl. xvii, 9. Also *Guide to Rajgir*, by Kuraishi and Ghosh.

[1] Bhattacharya, B. C. *op.-cit.* pls. xxii-xxiv. Kuraishi, *op.-cit.* figs. 135-154. The Yaksinis represent a slightly different tradition but as the photographs available are not distinct and as the Tīrthankaras above are not always identifiable, it is not possible to discuss the evidence from iconographic point of view.

[2] H. Cousens, *Somnāth and other Mediæval temples in Kāthiāwād*, *Archæological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, XLV*, 50 ff., pl. XLVIII.

[3] Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Report, IX*, 31. pl. vi. Sarasvati, S. K., in *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art*, VIII. 148. Illustrated in *Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Ambikā*, Journ. of the Univ. of Bombay, Sept. 1941, fig. 28.

[4] "One of its outstanding features are the pillars of the porch as they represent the post-Gupta order in its ripest state."—Brown, Percy, *op. cit.*, pp. 140 f.

is noteworthy.[1] Practice of carving such paṭas of the Maddona continued in the mediæval period, such specimens being available at Pāṭan, Girṇār, Ābu, etc. but the Osiā plaque is the earliest yet discovered.

Quite a large number of Jaina bronzes ranging from c. 6th to 11th centuries A D. have been obtained in the Akotā hoard. Two bronzes, one of Rsabhanātha with a Yakṣa and Ambikā and the other of an unidentified Jina are especially noteworthy as they are installed by Jinabhadra gaṇi Ksamāśramaṇa—the first between c 500-550 A. D, and the second between c. 550-600 A D.[2] A beautiful figure of Sarasvatī and other of a female chauri-bearer are illustrated in figs. 32-33

Of special interest is the Makarabāi temple in a village of the same name, 10 miles N. E. of Mahobā in U. P It is in an excellent state of preservation and consists of three separate cells, one at the back of the maṇḍapa and one each at the north and the south of it. The cult image in the sanctum is lost but the Jaina character of the temple is evidenced by figures of Jinas on its lintel Though small, this shrine is of a unique type, different from the ornate Chāndela temples, and though almost devoid of external wall sculptures, presents a beautiful appearance [3]

Another beautiful specimen, of about the end of the transitional period, is the so-called Ghaṇṭai temple at Khajurāho, old Chhatrapur State, Central India A little separated from the main group, it has attracted considerable attention on account of what may be called the Attic beauty of its constituent parts This temple, of which only a cluster of about a dozen pillars, standing on a moulded plinth and supporting a flat roof, and a carved door-frame, remain *in situ*, must certainly have been a gem of its time, being the handiwork of most accomplished craftsmen of the age One can still admire the elegance of its pillars, most gracefully proportioned, tall and slender shafts, octagonal below and circular above with intermediate girdles of delicate carving or the richness of its carved door-way [4]

The transitional period witnessed, in c 8th century A D., the introduction of the twenty-four yakṣas and yaksiṇīs, as attendants of different Tīrthaṅkaras. In its later stage, it showed the introduction of eight planets on two sides of a Tīrthankara or on the pedestal The introduction of planets seems to have started in the Eastern School In the west the planets were soon given a place on the pedestals of images of the Tīrthankaras In this period, the Jainas, especially the Digambaras, had strongholds in the whole of Central India while

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1 Shah, U P., in *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, IX*, p 48.

2 Shah, U P, in *Jaina Satyaprakāśa* XVII, no 4, pp. 86-91, figs 1-4.

3 *A.S I, A R* for 1925-26, p. 15, pl. ii.

4 Brown, Percy, *op. cit.*, pp. 136 ff, pl lxxxii.

in the west, the Śvetāmbaras were growing stronger. South of Bṛgukaccha (Broach), the Digambaras had an establishment at Navasārī[1] while in the Khāndesh, M. P. and the Deccan, the Śvetāmbaras were gradually diminishing in number. In the east, in Bihar and Orissa, Digambara Jainism was still popular whereas in Bengal it was already on the decline.

Mediaeval Period

A group of Jaina temples of Chāndela art are standing at Khajurāho. A Khajurāho temple generally consists of a cella, a *maṇḍapa*, *ardha-maṇḍapa* (entrance portico), supplemented by vestibule to the cella and in more developed forms, has trancepts (*mukha-maṇḍapas*) together with professional path round the cella. The Jaina temples, about six in number and in varying states of preservation differ but little from the Brahmanical fanes at Khajurāho. The only difference lies in the almost complete elimination of voids in elevation or window openings which are pronounced features of other groups The monotony of the external appearance of Jaina temples thus caused is relieved by elaborating parallel friezes of statuary. These rows of figures, running right round the structure, with projections at intervals, dominate the entire scheme.[2] Images of special iconographic value, including the dikpālas, yakṣas and multi-armed goddesses, are seen on these walls (fig. 52). One of these temples is illustrated in fig 51. Fig. 40 illustrates Kubera from a pillar.

Architecture of Jaina temples at Deogarh fort, Jhānsī district, U P, has not been properly discussed hitherto Some of the temples date from the 10th century and have a small open porch leading into the shrine surmounted by a spire, less elaborate than Khajurāho. Set up in front of the spire are sometimes seen an ornamental arch and a few sculptures on the porch-roof The temple walls, with niches on the sides, containing images, present a pleasing contrast with the ornate examples at Khajurāho In later specimens, however, Deogarh temples show carvings on basement and walls and are erected on bigger plans, temple No. 12 being the biggest. Temple Nos 1 and 12 have free standing pillars on one side, each pillar having four sculptures on the top and four more at the bottom Fig. 47 represents a beautiful specimen of Kṣetrapāla (guardian of the site) from a pillar near the first temple. Amongst other noteworthy sculptures at Deogarh are a group of yakṣī figures set up with labels on the backwall of temple No 12, in characters of the c. 10th century A. D They represent a valuable iconographic tradition unknown to extant Jaina literature. Fig. 39 represents *the* Jina-Mother[3]

Of special interest, among loose sculptures at Deogarh and Khajurāho, is

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1 *Ep. Ind.* Vol XXI, pp. 133 ff.

2 Sankalia, H D., *JISOA*, IX. 97 ff.

3 It is a loose slab (temple 4) dating from c. 11th century.

a type of figures of a royal pair sitting under a tree surmounted by a miniature Jina and showing a child on the lady's lap. Such sculptures (figs. 45, 46), common to most of the Digambara sites in Central India, U. P. and Bihar, and dating from c 900-1200 A. D., are analogous to the Buddhist pair or Jambhala and Hārīti. A study of various specimens from these sites shows that a group of them at least represented the Mother and Father of various Jinas.

In the West, the mediæval period witnessed increased building activity amongst Jainas under the patronage of the Parmāras of Mālvā and Cāulukyas of Gujarāt. Vimala sāha, a minister of Solaṅkī court, built a magnificent temple at Delwāḍā, Mt. Ābu in V.S. 1088 A temple of extraordinary beauty, it shows the extent to which marble could be finely chiselled and an example where exumberance could be beauty.[1] Human faces do not radiate the spiritual bliss and divine glory of inner consciousness but the loss is largely repaid by the richness and beauty of decoration and fine carving The temple consists of *mūlagarbhagṛha* (shrine), a *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* (adjoining hall), a smaller maṇḍapa (*navacoki*), a larger hall (*raṅgamandapa*), a circumambulatory path (*Bhamati*) and in the court-yard a group of *devakulikās* (smaller shrines) with a pillared corridor in front The shrine is on a higher level than the main hall. The dome of the latter, with an exquisitely wrought huge lotus pendant hanging from it (fig 49), rests on eight stilted pillars arranged in an octagon, and rises in concentric circles of various decorative motifs. Sixteen brackets, apparently without any architectural value, show figures of sixteen Tantric goddesses called Mahāvidyās of unique iconographic value (cf. Fig 50 representing Prajñapti). Between pillars of the octagon are toraṇas while there are a number of free standing pillars in the hall. The Maṇḍapa however was erected by Pṛthvīpāla, a minister of Kumārapāla.[2] All available space in the ceilings, walls, door-frames or pillars is utilised in presenting scenes from Jaina mythology, different gods and goddesses (cf Fig 54 representing the Mahāvidyā, called Vajrānkuśī) or designs which are veritable dreams of beauty. Fig. 55 is a *kicaka* on one of the pillar-brackets.

A second shrine at Delvāḍā, adjoining Vimalavasahi, built two centuries later by Tejpāla and Vastupāla on a plan similar to the one just described, is

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[1] Coomaraswamy *HIIA.*, pp 111 f Brown, Percy, *op cit*, 142 f, pl xciv. For a descriptive guide to all the Jaina shrines at Delvāḍā and Acaleśvara on Mt. Ābu, see Holy Ābu, by Muni Jayantavijaya, translated by U. P. Shah, published (with illustrations) by Yaśovijaya Jaina Granthamālā, Bhāvnagar, April, 1954.

[2] As evidenced by a Praśasti verse from *Mallinātha caritra* and *Candraprabhacaritra* (Ms., Pātaṇ), composed by Haribhadra Sūri, a contemporary of Pṛthvīpāla. Also see Introduction to *Holy Abu* by Shah, U. P.

equally attractive while other temples of a later age are of little value except the Caumukha temple with a four-fold image in the sanctum, built in c. 1515 V.S. (1459 A D). The outer walls of this last shrine has provided us with iconography of all the Vidyādevīs, Yakṣiṇīs, and Dik-pālas.

A unique example of the Caumukha type of temples is however supplied by the Tribhuvana-dīpaka-Caturmukha-Jinālaya (Fig 89) built in 1439, at Rānakpur (in Godvād district) old Jodhpur State Erected on a large plinth and a comprehensive structural scheme, it is an aggregation of shrines, symmetrically disposed around a central one. A large central spire surrounded by four others covering corner shrines, and twenty cupolas forming roofs of pillared halls, which again are surrounded by graceful turrets over eighty-six devakulikās produces a charmingly picturesque effect The interior presents a variety and multiplicity of its parts, all well-proportioned and uniformly disposed, unending vistas of columns, interrupted at intervals by open courts and illuminated by direct and reflected light arrangements, producing a bewitching effect on the pious Jaina worshipper [1]

Among other noteworthy temples in the West is a beautifully carved fane at Mirpur between Ābu and Sirohī, of about the same age as the temple of Tejapāla at Ābu Another temple existed at Varavān in the Thar and Pārkar district, Sindh Two beautiful sculptures of Tīrthankaras and one of a Jaina donor dated 1185 A D, now preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, show the extent of influence of the old Gujarātī style of sculpture At Sarotrā in North Gujarāt is another Jaina temple with fifty-two cells in the court-yard On each side of the principle entrance of the sabhāmandapa is a cell enshrining a yakṣa and yakṣinī On account of its recessed niches, wall angles and basement moulding the temple shows affinities with the Solankī style of old Gujarāt and appears to have been built in c 13th century, while the spire underwent repair at a later date [2] An interesting temple built by Kumārapāla, the Caulūkyan king, exists at Tārangā hill, North Gujarāt It consists of a shrine with a circumambulatory path lighted by three windows and a mandapa with porches on the north and the south and a large porch in the front Mouldings of the shrine basement and wall are cut into a series of horizontal and vertical facets ornate with sculptures [3] Another shrine built

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[1] Brown, Percy, *op cit*, pp 164 ff pl cv The plan of the Pahārpur monument (Bengal) was possibly based upon the conception of the Jaina Caumukha temple type enshrining the *pratimā-sarvvatobhadrikā* of Mathurā inscriptions, see also, Sarasvati, S K, in *History of Bengal*, I pp 504 ff. For other sites in U.P. and Bihār, see Cunningham's A.S. Reports.

[2,3] Sankalia, *Archæology of Gujarat*, pp. 111-12. Burgess, *Archæological Survey of Western India IX*. pp. 99 ff, 114, pls lxxvii, cix-cxiii

by Kumārapāla at Jālor about 80 miles south of Jodhpur is equally interesting.

Jaina shrines at Kumbhāriā, Dāntā State, North Gujarāt, belonging to c. 12th & 13th centuries, are noteworthy as some of them contain beautiful ceiling slabs with scenes from the lives of Pārśvanātha, Mahāvira and Śāntināthā (cf. fig 83 representing the life of Pārśvanātha).

In Mevād an interesting Jaina monument, built in c. 1100 A D and repaired in c 1450, exists at Chitor in the form of a beautiful Kīrttistambha (pillar of glory), about 80 feet high and composed of 8 storeys (fig. 82)[1] The structure belongs to Digambara sect and has a pavilion on the top which probably enshrined a Caumukha image in it. Such pillars or *mānastambhas*, the *mānavakastambhas* of the Jaina Canon, set up with images on top and at base, are often erected in front of Jaina temples though none of the extant ones are so magnificent as this specimen, which latter is erroneously called a Kīrttistambha The temple built by Mokalaji is another noteworthy fane at Chitor supposed to have been Jaina originally A more interesting group is, however, available at Un in the Indore State The Un temples, similar in plan to the Khajurāho temples, have porches on three sides while the maṇḍapas are conspicuously larger than at the other site The temples were mostly built by the later Paramāras of Mālvā in the 11th and 12th centuries. Of these the Caubārā Derā No 2 is a magnificent shrine while the Goāleśvara is preserved in an almost perfect condition [2]

Jaipur and Bikāner States[3] in Rājputānā also possess some remains, mainly of Digambara sect, while Jesalmere further north has a group of Śvetāmbara temples of the Moghul period [4] Udaipur State is famous for the shrines of Ādināthā worshipped by both the sects Gwalior State is very rich in archæological remains of Digambara sect ranging from the Gupta upto modern times Of the transitional period interesting temples and sculptures are available at Gyāraspur (Mālāde temple, figs 61, 62), Badoh and the site of Budhi Canderī The latter site is also rich in Jaina sculptures of the mediæval period comparable in style to those of Deogarh fort, and Sironi in Central India The

[1] *Progress Report of A S I, Western Circle*, 1904, *A S I, A R*, 1905-06, pp 44 ff Cunningham, op cit, xxiii, pp 108 ff

[2] *Progress Report, A S I, W C* 1918 pp 19, ff *A S I R*, 1923-24, p 47.

[3] Sahani D R *Archæological remains at Bairāt*, Nawāb, *Jaina Satyaprakāśā* (Gujarati Journal), VIII, No. 1, pp 9 ff. For the beautiful Sarasvatī from Pullu, Bikāner State, see Kramrisch, Stella, *Indian Sculpture*, fig, 84

[4] M B Garde, (1) *Archæological remains in Gwalior*, (2) *A Guide to the Archæological Museum, Gwalior*, (3) *Annual Reports of the Archæological Department, Gwalior State.*

Gāḍarmal temple at Baḍoh, built from remains of temples of the 9th and 10th centuries has a nativity sculpture variously identified with Kṛṣṇa-Devakī or Triśalā-Mahāvīra. The account of the Dik-Kumārīs, given in works like the Jambudvīpa-prajñapti, performing the *sūtikā-karma* at the birth of a Jina, will show that the sculpture deserves to be identified as Jaina. The inference is further supported by the existence of Jaina remains at Baḍoh and Pathārī. The sculpture is well-known and illustrated by Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, fig 178. A number of other sites in this state disclose remains, from the 10th century down to the end of the Moghul period, belonging mostly to the Digambara sect.[1]

In Khāndesh, Digambara Jaina vestiges are found at Eraṇḍol and Cāhardī while there is a late Jaina cave at Patnā.[2] An exquisite big bronze *covīsī* of Ādinātha from Cāharḍī is preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. It is assignable to the 10th century A. D., if not a little earlier. In the Deccan, where a mixture of North Indian traditions with southern ones could take place, Digambara temples existed at Miri and Ghoṭan in the Ahmednagar district[3], while in the Nasik district are a few Jaina caves. The Ankai Tankai group belongs to c. 12th-13th centuries while the Māngī Tungī group on the western border of the Nasik district (and very close to the Sulher fort of the Gaekwads of Baroda,) has, besides other later ones, a cave assignable to c. 9th century A. D.[4] The style of carvings, however, in most of the Deccan caves has a southern stamp and are therefore excluded from this survey.

Thousands of Jaina bronzes scattered over Western India require a special study as most of them are stylistically related to the miniature paintings of the Western school which flourished in the mediæval period, old Gujarāt including Rājasthān, had, like Bihār and Bengal, its own school of sculpture and painting, the school of art which Tārānātha referred to as the School of Ancient West. A glimpse of the importance of some of the earlier bronzes can be had from the bronze of a female chauri-bearer from Akotā (fig. 33) discussed elsewhere[5] by the present writer. Of the later phases of bronze-casting in Western India, a glimpse can be had from a *sahasrakūṭa* sculpture with figures of 1008 Jinas (fig 64).

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[1] M B Garde *op cit*

[2,3,4] *Cave Temples of India* by Fergusson and Burgess, 492 ff 505ff. *A. S. I., A. R. for 1921-22*, 66 ff, *for 1925-26*, 167 ff pl lxc b. For an illustration of the beautiful Cāharḍi bronze, see, *Indian Metal Sculpture* by Cintāmani Kar, pl 18. The figure is wrongly identified as Neminātha, the hairlocks on the shoulders of the main figure unmistakably prove that he is Ṛṣabhanātha.

[5] Shah, U. P., *Female Chauri-Bearer from Ankottaka and the School of Ancient West*—Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, Vol. I., No 1 pp 43-46 and plates.

Of early Jaina vestiges in Central Provinces (Madhya and Vindhya Pradesh) nothing is brought to light as yet. A few bronzes in the Nagpur Museum, acquired from Rajnākin Khinkhini in the Murtijāpur district belong to a period ranging from 7th to 10th centuries A D approximately. Some of these, especially the bronze image of Sarasvatī, published earlier by me[1] are of excellent workmanship The museum also preserves stone sculptures found at Ratanpur, Rāipur, Burhānpur, Māṇdlā and Hoshangābād Of the mediæval period, Jaina temples are found at Ārang, Chandā, Bhāṇḍak etc, the most important specimens of Jaina sculptures belong to the age of Haihayas of Tripurī. One such beautiful sculpture is now in worship in a Digambara temple at Jubbulpore while two others of the same art are preserved in the Indian Museum A few Jaina sculptures in the Ṭhākur's compound at Sohāgpur, Rewā State, belong roughly to the 10th and 11th centuries A.D. Amongst them is an interesting multi-armed variety of Padmāvatī, an attendant yakṣī of Pārśvanātha, discussed by the late Śrī R. D Banerji[2] Most of the Jaina vestiges in C P. belong to the Digambara sect with its principal seat at Kāranjā

In Bengal,[3] especially in the Western districts, the Jainas were probably pioneers in disseminating Aryan culture but unfortunately excepting the Pahārpur finds noted above, no earlier Jaina vestiges have been brought to light A few sculptures of the mediæval period are, however, noteworthy These include a beautiful stone sculpture of twenty-four Jinas with Ādinātha in the centre (fig 37), from Surohor, in the Dinājpur district, of Śāntinātha from Ujāni in the Burdwān district, figures of Pārśvanātha from Bahulārā (fig 38), Harmashrā, Deulbhirā and Siddheśvara (in the Bānkurā district) and a bronze figure of Ambikā from Nalgorā as also a stone sculpture of Ādinātha from Ghateśvara in the 24 paraganas Jaina vestiges are more common in the West Bengal and extend upto Mānbhum, Singbhum and Rānchī districts and the Chhotā Nāgpur division of Bihār. These images belong to the Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture but there is a difference in style among

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[1] *Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Sarasvatī*, Journal of the University of Bombay, September, 1941, fig 5

[2] Cousens, *List of Antiquarian Remains in Central Provinces and Berar Descriptive List of Exhibits in the Archæological Section, Nagpur Museum* (1914)
R D. Banerjee, *Haihayas of Tripuri*, Memoir No 2 of A S I, pl xlviii b, xli *Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference* Travancore, 816 ff.

[3] *History of Bengal*, I 464 ff Figs. 47-49, 153. *Eastern School of Mediaeval Indian Sculpture*, by R.D. Banerji, 144 ff pls. lxx[illegible]xviii *A.S I, A R, for 1925-26*, 115 ff. 153, pl. lx e, *for 1921-22*, 84, pl. xxi, *for 1922-23*, 112 ff *Indian Culture*, III 524 ff *Varendra Research Society Monograph No. 3.*

the Bengal and Bihar specimens mainly on account of materials utilised. The Jaina zone of influence appears to have extended, according to R D. Banerji, from the southern bank of Ganges to the western bank of the Bhāgīrathī right upto the northern frontier of the jungle country of the wild Gonds All the Jaina images belong to the Digambara sect. A few specimens from the Mānbhum district are preserved in the Paṭnā museum (cf fig 44)

In Orissa, no specimens are available for about nine centuries following the age of the Rānigumphā group, but rock-cut reliefs of Navamuni and Bārabhuji caves belong to c 8th-9th centuries and the standing Jinas near Udyotakesari's cave were carved in c 11th century Khiching in the Mayurbhañj State provides interesting sculptures of these three or four centuries A sculpture of Ambikā in the British Museum is a beautiful specimen of this period Fig 35 representing Rsabhanātha and Mahāvīra on one stela, also in same Museum, is a beautiful specimen of c 9th-10th cent A D, probably from Orissa. Another interesting specimen, a bronze of standing Ādinātha (Fig 36) from Puri district, is now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta [1]

Temple Cities

A peculiarity of the Jaina sect is their love for building temple-cities, Śatruñjaya in Saurāstra being the most famous of them, with several hundreds of fanes (figs 57, 58) erected in several lanes in various periods. The temple of Ādinātha in Vimalavasī Tunk was built (1530 A D) upon the site of another older temple erected in c 960 A D, and there was also probably a still earlier structure Jaina traditions assert that temples at Śatruñjaya underwent mass-scale repairs at several intervals A sculpture of Pundarīka in a small cell of the main Ādinātha temple is one of the most beautiful specimens of the 10th century sculpture in Western India. Another noteworthy shrine is the Caumkha temple, built in 1618 A D enshrining a four-fold image, with four cardinal entrances to the sanctum, the eastern one connected with the assembly hall in front while three others have porches leading into the surrounding courtyard Above each porch rises an elegant second-storey with balconied windows A third noteworthy temple is the one reported to have been built by Kumārpāla and a fourth by Vimalasāha is in good state of preservation [2]

Another famous temple-city in Saurāstra is on Mt Girnār, [3] the

[1] Kuraishi, *op cit*, Chanda, R B Ramaprasad, *Mediaeval Indian Sculpture in the British Museum*, 71 ff pl xxii R D Banerji, *History of Orissa*, I 84 ff, II. 394 pl xc Shah, U P, in *Journal of the University of Bombay*, September 1940, 153, fig 4

[2,3] Percy Brown, *op cit* 118 ff cousens, *Somnātha and other Mediaeval Temples in Kāthiāwād*, 73 ff xcii-cvi *Archaeology of Gujarāt*, 109 f, pls xxii-xxiii- Burgess, *Archæological Survey of Western India II*, *Antiquities of Kāthiāwād and Kachh* pp 166 ff, pls xxxi-xxxiv

shrines being far less numerous than at Śatruñjaya Nemināthа temple, the largest in the group, repaired in the 13th century, is enclosed within a courtyard with about 70 cells The temple has a handsome mandapa while the vimāna is composed of a grouping of turrets around a central tower in a scheme common to 12th century temples in Western India The Vastupāl temple is a remarkable triple structure composed of three separate shrines, leading out of the three sides of the central hall, the fourth side forming the entrance The central shrine is dedicated to the nineteenth Jina Mallinātha, while the two lateral shrines, formed like pillared halls, contain monuments of solid masonry The northern one has a square base and represents the Mount Meru of Jaina mythology while the southern shrine contains a representation of the Sameta Śikhara or Mt Pārasanātha in Bihār where twenty Tīrthankaras obtained nirvāna The Jainas similarly represent another mountain called Aṣṭāpada, a specimen of which is available in the Rānakpur temple described above. Such representations are at present known as "avatāra", *e g* Śatruñjaya-tīrthāvatāra (cf fig 59 representing a plaque of Śatruñjaya and Girnār)

Amongst several other smaller temple-cities of less architectural value are Songadh near Datiā, Central India, Kuṇḍalpur in the Damoh district, C P, Muktagiri near Gawalgarh in Berar and Mt Pārasnātha in Bihār. The group of temples at Papaurā in Orchhā State, and Jhālrāpātan in the Jhālāwād State in Central India await a more detailad study

Paintings

The tradition of Jaina painting is as old as Buddhist painting In one of the extensive rock-cut caves at Udayagiri and Khandagiri in Orissa, assignable to c 1st century B C, traces of paintings have been marked.[1] The Sittānnavāsal wall-paintings in the old Pudducotta State, Madras, form the earliest published document of Jaina painting Assignable to the reign of Mahendravarman I, the great Pallava king and artist (c 600-625 A. D), they are not essentially different from the contemporary paintings at Ajantā As observed by Stella Kramrich, barring a certain physiognomical conventions in figure drawings there are no distinguishing features separating Sittānnavāsal paintings from contemporary paintings of Ajantā and Badāmī [2] A review of later wall-paintings in the South at Ellora and elsewhere or of the miniatures of Digambara Jaina manuscripts at Mūdabidri is beyond the scope of this survey of Jaina art in the North

In the north, most of the existing specimens of Jaina paintings belong to the Mediaeval Western Indian School, which has for its background the School of Ancient West mentioned by Tārānāth. Since specimens of paintings of this

[1] Moti Chandra, *Jaina Miniature Painting from Western India*, p 10

[2] *JISOA.*, Vol. V. p. 218

School of Ancient West are yet unknown it is still difficult to make any surmise about its distinguishing features

But it has now been possible to infer a few characteristics of this School of Art from the stone and metal sculptures recently brought to light and discussed by this writer [3] The School of Ancient West seems to have been a very vigorous one having passed through several stages of development during the march of time through several centuries Earliest specimens which can be definitely assigned to this school may be noted —

(1) The famous bronze image of Brahmā in the Karachi Museum, assigned by Dr Coomaraswamy to the Gupta age. Though not inscribed, it cannot be placed later than c 500 A. D and may be slightly earlier

(2) The mutilated bronze of Jīvantasvāmī from Akoṭā, with pedesta lost, illustrated here as figs 20, 21, which should be assigned to the same age as Karachi Brahmā [4]

(3) Of a slightly later date is the image of Ṛṣabhanātha from Akotā, installed by Jinabhadra Gaṇī Kṣamāśramaṇa, discussed in Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, Vol. I, No 1, Fig 43 ff, fig 21. Also see Jaina Satyaprakāśa, Vol. 17. no. 4, pp 86 ff and plate.

The last mentioned bronze, studied as three-quarter profile, immediately suggests to us the beginnings of the tendencies manifested in later Western Indian Miniature Paintings, namely, the squarish face, elongated eyes and a pointed nose The bronze, both from the script of its inscription and from the known dates of Jinabhadra, must be assigned to c 500-550 A D

A study of the crowns and other ornaments of different Jaina bronzes from Vasantagadh and Akotā assignable to c 6th-7th century A.D., or of a few carvings on two small shrines at Rodā, Īdar State, North Gujarat, has shown their close affinity with contemporary art at Ajantā

[3] In Journal of Indian Museums, Vol VIII. pp 49 ff, Vol IX pp 90 ff, Journ of the Oriental Institute, Vol I No 2, pp 161 ff

[4] My arguments for assigning it to a date between 400 and 500 A D are given in my *Note on Akotā Hoard of Jaina Bronzes*, published in the Baroda Through the Ages (M. S. University of Baroda, 1953), pp 99 ff

[4] With these must also be noted the Tri-Tīrthika image of Pārśva or Supārśva installed by Khambhila (Khandila?) Āryikā of Nāgendra Kūla, c 640 A D, illustrated as fig 23 in my paper in the *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, Vol I, No 1, pp 45 ff., and the bronze of Sarasvatī from Vasantagaḍh, *op cit*, fig. 20, also, Sarasvatī from Akoṭā, illustrated here in fig 34.

In my recent study of Gupta sculptures from the Īdar State, I have shown that the Parel Śiva and the Elephant Trimurti seem to be products of the same school of artists who produced the sculptures obtained from Śamalājī in the Īdar State. Though bearing close affinities with the Gupta sculptures from Maṇḍasor, Devagadh and Bhumārā, they show a tendency to localisation which becomes more marked out in the bronzes discussed above, and which can be differentiated from some of the best Gupta specimens from Sārnāth and other places

Now that we have been able to collect a sufficient number of Gupta and late-Gupta sculptures from Rājasthān and Gujarāt, a fresh comparative study of these with the Ajaṇṭā Paintings of the 6th century A D, has to be undertaken Such a study has shown to me a continuity upto Ajaṇṭā of the art traditions in Western India, close affinities in ornaments and motifs have also been observed in some of the paintings of c 5th-7th centuries and the problem needs further exploration and study

Now Śringadhara (I propose to amend the name as Śārngadhara), an artist from Maru country founded the school of Ancient West, according to the Tibetan Historian Tārānāth *who expressly refers to his paintings* Since the origin of this School of Ancient West, is assignable to the age of the Karachi Brahmā, the mutilated Jīvantasvāmī from Akotā and the Ṛṣabhanātha installed by Jinabhadra ganī—all not later than c 500-550 A D,—and since the Parel Śiva and the Elephanta Trimurti can be compared with the Mahāviṣṇu from Śamalājī (discussed by me in the Journal of Indian Museums, Vol. IX) we have reason to doubt that at least some of these 5th-7th century paintings at Ajantā are closely related to, or might have been products of the School of Ancient West, but with some local or southern unavoidable influence In its earliest stage, the School of Ancient West had marked affinities with the Gupta art of Central India Such early tendencies persisted for a very long period in the West and in the South Hence there are many chances of confusing the Western Style as Gupta Art, but a close study helps to differentiate both the Schools of Art [1]

I have entered into these details because here I propose to go into the origins of Western Indian Paintings rather than repeat long lists of, or mention in details, the various Jaina miniatures already thoroughly discussed by

[1] Our study is based on a comparison of stone and metal sculptures with frescoes of Ajaṇṭā and Bagh For want of frescoes in Gujarat and Rājasthān, it is not possible to compare the art in the same medium. Even though sculptures do not possess the richness of colour and details of paintings, distinct common art trends are perceptible amongst sculptures and frescoes suggesting a common origin.

Moti Chandra in his "Jaina Miniature Paintings from Western India."

As already remarked, these Ajantā paintings of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods disclose a continuity of art traditions of Western India, of course with a definite local colour in proportions of human forms reflecting the general features of the contemporary population around Ajantā or in Mahārāṣtra. This fact of Western Influence further obtains support from the account of Hiuen-Tsang about the Ajantā caves[1] Speaking about a convent built by *Arhat Achara*, he says that, "*This Arhat was a man of Western India*" He built this Saṃghārāma for the spiritual benefit of his mother who was reborn in this country Hiuen-Tsang notes "On the four sides of the Vihāra, on the stone walls, are painted different scenes from the Tathāgat's preparatory life as a Bodhisattva.. . . . . .On the outside of the gate of the Saṃghārāma, on he north and south side there is a stone elephant" As noted by Beal "This seems to refer to two elephants in alto—relievo sculptures on the rock in front of Cave XV, but which are now scarcely recognisable."[2] In support of this tradition of Arhat Achara, Beal has added in a footnote to his translation (Vol II, p 257, note, 46) "In the inscription on the Caitya cave No XXVI at Ajaṇtā, we read that 'The ascetic Sthavira Achala, who glorified the faith and was grateful, caused to be built a mountain dwelling for the Teacher, though his desires were fulfilled "[3]

Hiuen-Tsang's account of the vihāra is exaggerated and he speaks of a stone figure of Buddha, 70 feet high, placed in the middle of this convent 100 feet in height Beal suggests cave XIX as the possible cave referred to by Hiuen-Tsang He also says that the report is only an exaggerated account of the rock-cut Chaityas and that Hiuen-Tsang does not appear to have visited them personally[4]

The continuity of art traditions visible in the later paintings at Ajantā and Ellurā, and their gradual development into what we call Western Indian Miniature Painting is already acknowledged by experts on the subject Giving the chief characteristics of Western Indian Miniature Painting, Moti Chandra writes "These conventions are still in embryonic stages in the later cave paintings of Ajantā" For the present we can say that at least some of the 5th-7th century paintings at Ajantā seem to be products of the Old Western School

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[1] Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol II, pp. 257-259

[2] Also see, *Cave Temples of India*, p 306

[3] Also see, *Archæological Survey of Western India, Reports, Vol. IV*, p 135

[4] Beal, *op cit*, Vol II, p 258, ft note 48

Though no Jaina paintings of this age have survived, we can very well imagine what they could have been. Traces of (later) paintings are also observed in the Jaina caves at Ellura.

The Western Indian Miniatures dating from c 1100 A D show a later stage in Western Indian art, when angularity of faces, pinching of the farther cheek and consequent protusion of the farther eye into empty space became pronounced besides the crude colour modelling and the conventional treatment of trees, animals, birds etc. In the middle layer of wall paintings at Kailāsa, Ellura, datable to the 9th century, one is confronted with some of these conventions.

The earliest known Jaina miniature paintings are the decorative roundels in the palm-leaf manuscripts of Niśītha Cūrnī, dated 1100 A D, from Samghavī Pādā Bhandār, Pātaṇ. But more noteworthy are the two palm-leaf miniatures in the manuscript of Jñātā and other Anga texts, dated 1127 A D (figs 65-66), one of them represents Sarasvatī standing in *tribhanga*[1] with flowing and sensitive outlines, her farther eye does not protrude into space though the attendant worshippers betray more pronounced characteristics of Western Indian miniatures. But this painting should be regarded as influenced by southern forms, the form of Saraswatī is more like those met with in contemporary sculptures from Canarese districts.[2]

It must be remembered that Mīnaladevī, the Queen mother of Siddharāja, was a very powerful personality hailing from the South, whose influence in the court must have been responsible for an influence of artists from Canarese districts. It was impossible to avoid such cultural contacts.

Before we proceed to review the known miniatures, we must take note here of a still unpublished wooden book-cover, recently exhibited in the Exhibition of Manuscripts from different Jaina Bhandaras, arranged at Ahmedabad, during the XVII session of the All India Oriental Conference. The two pattikās have been cut at ends, the other pieces being lost beyond recovery. The two pieces now left show paintings of Vidyādevīs in a damaged condition. Whatever is left is sufficient to show that these paintings are earlier than the earliest known Western miniatures of the Niśītha Cūrni and the Jñātā-dharmakathā manuscripts of 1100 and 1127 A D. The set of Vidyādevīs shows a style somewhat different from that of the manuscripts just mentioned. Figure modelling is of a superior order, showing no trace of angularity of features,

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1 Moti Chandra, *op cit*, Fig 16

2 Compare for example the Jaina Bronze from Pūrana Chandra Nāhar's collections, having a Canarese inscription on its back (c 12th century A D), illustrated in जैन साहित्यनो संक्षिप्त इतिहास, by Śrī M D Desai.

pointed noses or protrusion of the farther eye. Figures show robust and rather stunted forms, with heavy heads, comparable with similar post-Gupta or early mediæval sculptures from the Gwalior State Their affinities with late Gurjjara-Pratihāra and early Paramāra sculptures is unmistakable These covers of a palm-leaf manuscript should be assigned to c 9th-10th century A D

W. Norman Brown has attempted to present a classification of the styles of Jaina miniatures " He groups the earliest known examples under the stylistic classification ' A ', and shows that the sequence of this style runs from these early examples through the miniatures in Hemachandra's Neminātha-charita and in the miniatures of the Sāvagapadikamaṇa-sutta executed in 1260 A D In the manuscript of the Kalpasūtra and Kālakāchārya-kathā in Pātaṇ Bhaṇḍār, dated 1279 A D, he sees a sub-variety of style ' A ', which he calls ' A 1 ' In another illustrated manuscript of the Kalpasūtra, dated 1278 A D, in the Samghavī Pādāno Bhaṇḍār, Pātan, he sees the second sub-variety of style ' A. 1 ' and designates it ' A 2 ' [1]

Style ' A 1 ' is distinguished by relative lack of complication in ornamentation as in the earliest palm-leaf manuscripts, by relatively low number of figures in a composition and by comparatively less details in costumes and ornaments Thick lines are employed in preference to fine strokes The peak of this sub-variety ' A 1, ' according to W. Norman Brown, reaches in the illustrations of the Kalpasūtra manuscript dated 1370 A D in the collections of Mukti Vijaya Jñāna Bhaṇḍār, Ujamphoi Dharmaśāā, Ahmedabad [2] Paintings of style ' A 1 ' are intellectual and show full and steady curves while ' A 2 ' with increased finer lines had more accessory detail The latter style continued in the 13th and 14th centuries Amongst noteworthy examples of this ' A 2 ' are painted wooden covers of the Dharmopadeśamālā (Nawab's collection) and the Īdar palm-leaf manuscript of the Kalpa-sūtra belonging to the fourteenth century The use of paper increased in this century and in the following one paper manuscripts show an increase in the number of miniatures The Chhānī palm-leaf miniatures, containing a rare set of paintings of the sixteen Jaina Mahāvidyās (cf fig. 69), are devoid of the smooth flowing curves of style A or the accurate detail of A2, and should be assigned to style B [3] I should like to note one

[1] Moti Chandra, *op cit*, pp 34 ff

[2] Moti Chandra, *op.cit*, figs 54-58

[3] Brown, W Norman, *Stylistic Varieties of Early Western Indian Painting*, Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Arts, Vol. V pp 1-12 For a bibliography on Western Indian Paintings, see, Moti Chandra, *op cit*, pp 194 ff to this add *Pavitra Kalpa-Sūtra* and *Jesalmere-citrāvali* edited by Muni Śrī Puṇya-vijayaji.

important fact here. Hitherto believed[1] to have been dated in V.S. 1218, the manuscript really belongs to the late 13th or early 14th century, the scribe having omitted to note the date of coping after recording the date of his original manuscript This is further supported by a reference in this ms to Vijayasenasūri (on folios 131 132) who is said to have died in 1301 V S Of this style are the paintings of Subāhucharitra (Samghavī pāḍā, Pāṭaṇ) and the wooden covers of Sūtrakṛtānga-vṛtti (Nawab's collection)

The use of gold in paintings increased in the following two centuries, probably under Moghul influence. A large number of illustrated Kalpa-sūtra and Kālaka-kathā manuscripts, assignable to this age, are available in Western India. A Kalpa-sūtra manuscript in Śrī Hamsavijaya collection, Baroda, is specially noteworthy for its ornate border designs and bright colours, while another from Śrī Dayā Vimala collection, Ahmedabad, is valuable for illustrations of various dancing postures A palm-leaf manuscript of Mahāviracharita, dated 1294 V S., in the Samghavi Pāḍā Bhaṇḍāra, is supposed to contain miniatures of Hemacandra and the Caulukya King Kumārapāla Of some other palm-leaf miniatures are illustrated here a painting of a ten-armed goddess (Mahisamarddinī) from Uttarādhyayana-laghu-vṛtti, copied in 1352 V.S. and another of Laksmī from Upadeśamālā-vṛtti, dated 1291 V S (both from Cambay), in figures 71 and 70. Several sets of Uttarādhyayana miniatures on paper are available, of which some have been studied by Brown in a separate monograph[2] Miniatures of a manuscript of this text in the Hamsavijaya collection, Baroda, are in an excellent state of preservation and belong to c 1500 A.D, the best period of Jaina manuscript paintings on paper (fig. 68). Sthānānga-sūtra, Samgrahanīsūtra, Subāhucharitra, Supārśvanātha caritra, Śālibhadra chaupai, Śrīpāla-rāsa, are some of the other Jaina texts found with illustrations A scroll painting of the Jaina Pañcatīrthī, in the Tādpatrīya Pustaka Bhaṇḍār, Āgrā, first published by N C. Mehta, and rediscussed by Moti Chandra, is an interesting document of Western Indian painting on cloth dated in V S 1490 (1433 A.D)[3]

Vijñaptipatras are a type of scrolls (generally painted on paper) of invitation, specially found amongst the Śvetāmbaras, and sent to Jaina ācāryas by the Jaina community of a town or a village, requesting the former to spend the next rainy season with the latter. Such scrolls contain interesting paintings of various city sites and temples as also representations of fourteen dreams and

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1 By Brown, Moti Chandra and others following Nawāb

2 Brown, W Norman, *Manuscript Illustrations of the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, American Oriental Series, No 21

3 Moti Chandra, *op. cit.*, pp 48 ff, N C. Mehta, *A picture scroll from Gujarat*, Indian Art and Letters, Vol. VI (New Series), pp. 71-78

eight auspicious marks. The earliest known Vijñaptipatra belongs to the c 17th century A. D.[1]

Tantric and non-tantric patas or paintings on cloth are often available but only a few of them have been published hitherto.[2] The earliest known amongst them are the Chintāmani-Yantra paṭa drawn for Taruṇaprabhasūri (c. 1354 A. D) and the Sūri-mantra pata executed for the use of Bhāvadevasūri (c 1355 A D) both discussed by Moti Chandra[3] A Paṭa of Hrimkāra with Parśva in centre, from collections of Muni Śri Puṇyavijayaji, is illustrated in fig 80. It is also called Aṭṭe Matte Yantra-pata, and is assignable to c. 1400-A.D.

We have referred to the earliest known painted book-covers Amongst other noteworthy examples are the pattikās representing the Vyākhyāna Sabhā (discussion hall) of Śrī Jinadatta sūri, at Jesalmere, assignable to c 1154-70 A D and the beautiful covers representing the controversy between Śrī Devasūri and Kumuda Chandra, now in the collections of Muni Śrī Jinavijayaji. This last panel has all the distinguishing features of the Western Indian School[4] Sarabhai Nawab assigns the latter to c 15th century while Moti Chandra is inclined to place it in the 12th century If contemporary sculpture has to be taken into account, it should be placed in the age of Vastupāla, c 13th century A D, when there was a fresh impetus to art and literature. Stylistically also, the cover has affinities with paintings of the late 13th and early 14th century which cannot be overlooked

Fortunately we have contemporary sculptural evidence for all Western painting from c 1100 A D and a comparative critical approach has been always helpful in the study of Western Indian sculpture and paintings of the mediæval period Both are closely related, both show angular face, pointed noses, peculiar elongated eyes, besides similar costumes and human proportions Later Jaina paintings show decided influence of the Moghul and Rājput schools and it would be misleading to label any of these styles as Jaina ones. Painting activity extended over a wide area from Jesalmere in the north to the southern limits of modern Gujarāt Jaina contributions from outside the limits of Western India are hardly known, so far as painting is concerned, except the well known Kalpasūtra painted at Jaunapura (Yavanapura) in V S 1522.

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[1] Hirananda Shastri, *Ancient Vijñāptipatras*, (Śrī Pratāpasimha Rājyābhiseka Granthamālā I).

[2] For a discussion on and reference to other published patas, see, Shah, U P, *JISOA*, *Vol* IX, pp 42 ff

[3] *Op. cit*, pp 46 ff and plates.

[4] For detailed appreciation and illustrations see Moti Chandra, *op. cit*, pp 59 ff. figs 193-198.

noted above. The central roundel on the last folio suggests that it was painted by a lady.[1] Contributions of the Digambara sect in the field of book illustrations are few and hardly known; no noteworthy specimens are available in Western (and Northern) India, but a late illustrated paper manuscript of the Jaina version of the Rāmāyaṇa story is reported to have been now preserved in the Digambara Jaina collections at Arrah in Bihār

It is indeed interesting to find that such an exquisitely painted manuscript is the work of a lady artist Every folio has a different border, rich in colours and designs, all of which can serve as first class *sāri*-designs and borders.

Another point which should not escape our notice in the miniatures of this manuscript is the use of thick sharp angular strokes of limbs of figures as well as of garments' ends The style is not wholly similar to contemporary miniatures from Gujarāt and Mārwār. There is a contrast between the beautiful borders and the miniatures, in the use of colours which cannot escape notice of even a casual look It would seem that they are works of two different artists.

[1] The colophon at the end, on the last folio, gives the details about the donors etc., of the manuscript, including those of the scribe and the place of copying of the manuscript which is Yavanapur or Jaunapur. While in a roundel in the central margin is written in gold —साधु सहसराज पुत्रिकया Obviously the artist has added her own identity in the space which was left for the artist's brush It cannot be a later addition by one who gave it as a gift to some monk. Nor can it be a contemporary record of the person giving it as a gift to some monk. All this is already included in the text of the colophon on the same folio (see जैन चित्रकल्पद्रुम, fig. 243), and we must acknowledge the daughter of merchant Sahasarāja as the painter of this manuscript.

Studies In Jaina Art

II

II

SYMBOL WORSHIP IN JAINISM

1. INTRODUCTORY

"Human mind learnt to conceive of the Highest Divinity not in the absolute likeness of Him but rather in aniconic representations from very early times. These aniconic representations had such meanings and implications as would help us to differentiate them from purely decorative or artistic forms "[1] But this is only partly true since forms which are regarded as purely decorative or artistic might have once had some religious or any other meaning attached to them at some stage of their development in art

So far as Brahmanical Iconography is concerned, it is generally agreed that originally it did not include idol-worship The sun for example was represented by a disc. The lotus, the svastika, etc , which are amongst the earliest symbols worshipped by human beings of different races and religions are symbols conveying some ideal to the worshipper, howsoever primitive their earlier conception might have been

Even when a god-head came to be worshipped as an idol, representing a human form, his representation was never allowed to function purely biologically as the likeness of the person glorified and worshipped. In this way, the idol of a Jina or the Buddha remained as a symbol of Mahāpuruṣa and not as a portrait of Mahāvīra or the Gautama Buddha.[3] It is, however, highly probable that the worship of the Jina or the Buddha image originated from the practice of adoring some ancient portraits or paintings of these saints for we have reason to belive that such attempts at portraiture did take place during the life time of Mahāvīra and Gautama Buddha

But the idol of Jina soon came to be symbolised and the worship of the Jina image is said to be adoration of the aggregate of qualities which the pious worshipper strives to acquire himself The Jina-image thus essentially came to be a symbol of these qualities

It seems that the introduction of the worship of the Jina image was earlier than that of the Buddha, and archæological evidence hitherto obtained

[1] Jaina Antiquary, Vol XV No 1, p. 1.

[2] Also see, Coomaraswamy, A.K , *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, p 3

[3] cf. *Divyāvadāna*, Chp. XXVI, discussed by Coomaraswamy, *op.cit*, p. 5

supports this inference For a long time worship of the Buddha's human form was regarded as something prohibited by Buddha himself.

But even in Jaina worship, introduction of the Jina Image seems to be a somewhat later development, and may be assigned to the century following the nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra No Jaina Āgama refers to shrines dedicated to any of the 24 Tīrthankaras. Mahāvīra is never reprted to have visited or stayed in any Jaina shrine He stayed in *Caityas* which commentators unanimously explain as *Yakṣa--āyatanas*

Pārśvanātha, who lived 250 years before the nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra, is acknowledged as a historical figure and his followers existed in the age of Mahāvīra and a few centuries following him Mahāvīra's parents are reported to be followers of Pārśvanātha But nowhere in the Āgamas do we hear of anybody visiting the shrine of Pārsvanātha or any other Jina Only once or twice in the Bhagavatī Sūtra[1] and once in the Upāsakadaśāṅga,[2] we come across a general reference to *Arhat Caitya* which passages may or may not be genuine and old

Hence we are forced to believe that at least upto the beginning of fourth century B.C idol worship did not become popular amongst the Jainas But the highly polished mutilated torso of a Jina Image obtained from Lohānipur near Patnā shows that at least in the third century B C or slightly earlier, worship of the Jina Image had started

Against this, we have the evidence of stock descriptions of Śāsvata-pratimās in the Jaina Āgamas (like the Rāyapaseṇaiya, Sthānānga and the Jīvājīvābhigama sūtra) or the reference to the worship of Jina-images by Draupadī in the Jñātādharmakathā[3] which would suggest that idol worship existed in Jainism from the age of Mahāvīra or his gaṇadharas But the view does not seem to be free from doubts since these passages might have been composed in a somewhat later age. Again, all throughout the Jaina Āgamas we find references to the worship of Indra, Rudra, Skanda, Vāsudeva, Yaksa, Bhūta, Nāga, tree, etc which suggest that these were amongst the most popular deities worshipped by the masses who are not reported to have visited any shrines of Tīrthankaras

Mahāvīra stayed in Yakṣa shrines Naturally he stayed in places where masses used to gather in large numbers and where he could have the desired type of audience In other words he obtained his following not from people who

[1] *Bhagavatī Sūtra* with Abhayadeva's comm., (Āgamodaya Samiti's ed), 3 2 Sū 145, Vol I p 75

[2] *Uvāsagadasão* (Ātmānanda Sabhā ed), p. 14.

[3] *Nāyādhammakahāo* (ed N V Vaidya, Poona, 1940), XVI, 124, p. 181.

gathered at Vedic sacrifices but from the masses who believed in the worship of Yakṣas, Nāgas, etc. It was, therefore, natural that the essentials of this Yaksa or Nāga cults were incorporated in Jaina worship.

Hence in order to understand the meaning of symbols and idols in early Jaina worship we must understand the essentials of the Yakṣa cult. Dr Coomaraswamy has discussed the significance underlying the conception of Nāgas and Yakṣas in his *Yaksas I and II* The various references to the ancient Yakṣas etc. in Jaina literature have been discussed by me in another paper published in the Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. III, No. 1 (1953), pp 54-71 I have suggested in this paper that the conception of the Jina or the Buddha under a Caitya-tree is essentially a borrowing from this Yaksa cult. This cult of worshipping Caitya-Vṛkṣas and spirits of Vṛkṣas, (standing) under the trees,[1] seems to have been at least as old as the seals from Mohen-jo-Dāro and Harappā The red-stone mutilated torso from Harappā,[2] so much like a Jina torso, might actually have represented some yakṣa devatā

So we must first try to understand the conception of Caitya and Caitya-Vrksa in Jaina art and literature Since Stūpa worship is very ancient, anterior to Buddha and Mahāvīra, and since, as we shall see presently, the Stūpa is a Caitya, we must also study Stūpa worship in Jainism We shall then pass on to the worship of Patas or plaques—especially the Āyāgapatas, which are associated with the ancient Caitya worship which are amongst the earliest Jaina antiquities discovered from Mathurā

We shall next pass on to other symbols like the Aṣtamangals, the Samavasarana, the Auspicious Dreams etc

Such a study of the symbols reveals to us the underlying common heritage in the art and ritual of the Indian masses—Jainas, Buddhists or the Hindus. Origins of some of these concepts date from a hoary antiquity and their later development in Indian art and ritual can only be grasped with the help of studies in this direction

It may also be remembered that for a study of the original conceptions behind such symbols as the caitya-vṛksa, the lotus etc, we must also refer to the Vedic literature, for assimilation of ideas and concepts has been an unbroken process in Indian art and literature produced by different sects It is not possible here to discuss such concepts from literatures of all the three sects and as far as possible we will limit ourselves to the study of evidence supplied by Jaina art and literature

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[1] Kramrisch, Stella, *Indian Sculpture*, figs 5, 7, 8

[2] *Ibid*, fig. 1

2. CAITYA, STŪPA AND STAMBHA

The most general name for a sanctuary is *Caitya* in Sanskrit, *Cehta* or *Ceiya* in Ardhamāgadhi or Jaina literature and *Cetiya* in Pāli—a term not only applying to shrines, but to sacred trees, memorial stones, holy spots, images, pillars etc. Hence, according to Kern, 'all edifices bearing the character of sacred monuments are Caityas, but not all the Caityas are edifices '[1]

The origin of the word Caitya is generally traced to the Vedic *cayana*[2] " The general meaning of the word *Caitya*, from √*ci-cayane*, is something piled up, the relative derivative *citya* or *citi* referring to the fire-altar "[3] As shown by Dikshitar, " the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa explains *citya* as that which could be used for *cayana* Though the term *caitya* as such does not occur in the Samhitās, *citya* or *Agni—citya* is used in the Aitareya Brāhmana, the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Taittirīya Samhitā " It is significant to note the use of the expression *citya* from which the original expression *caitya* has been undoubtedly derived.[4] " In the Taittirīya Samhitā (5 1 8 4) we hear of Agni-Citya to which offerings are made

Pandit Hamsarāja Shāstri, in his *Caitya-vāda Samīksā* (Hindi, Ambālā, Punjab, V S 2007), has adduced references to *citi*, *citya*, *cayana* etc from Vedic literature and shown that *citya* primarily refers to *yajñasthāna* or fire-altars. Especially, see, Pānini, 3 1 139 and 3 1.132 discussed by him on *op cit.*, pp 22-26 Śrī V R Ramachandra Dikshitar, in his '*Origin and Early History of Caityas*,' Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XIV No 3, pp 440-452 adduced most of these references and had arrived at similar conclusions.

In the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra, we find for the first time mention of a *Caitya-yajña* (चैत्ययज्ञे प्राक् स्विष्टकृतश्चैत्याय बलिं हरेत् ।) It is said that bali is to be offered to Caitya, but if the Caitya is situated at a distant place, bali is to be sent through a leaf (treated as a) messenger[5] The commentary of Nārāyana explains Caitya as *citte bhava* According to him, a man makes a vow to a certain deity that if his wish is granted, he would offer a sacrifice and this

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[1] *Manual of Indian Buddhism* (1896), p 91.

[2] See, Indian Antiquary, Vol. XI, pp. 20-22.

[3] Coomaraswamy, A. K , *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (henceforth HIIA), p 47

[4] Dikshitar, *op cit* , pp. 440 f Also see, Martin Haug, Translation of *Aitareya Brāhmana*, V note 28 cf *Śatapatha Brāhmana* (Bibliotheca Indica), VI. 1.2.16.

[5] Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra (Ānandāśrama ed.), Bk. I. 12-1-3.

sacrifice is the Caitya-yajña Oldenburg thinks that this rite was not purely symbolical [1] The bali is to be offered to Caitya where Caitya may stand for a shrine or an icon in the shrine And the Gṛhya Sūtra further says that if the Caitya is at a distant place, the offering is to be made through a leaf messenger Thus as noted by Dikshitar, " caitya was no more yajña-sthāna ....From the time of Āśvalāyana onwards we find the use of the application of the term caitya extended There is a transition from Agni-cityas to Anagni-cityas, or in other words from a fire cult to a fireless cult " [2] But the same Grhya sūtra has also used caitya in the sense of yajña-sthāna in " चैत्ययूप वोपहृत्य. " [3] Thus the text represents a stage of transition in the (meaning of) the word Caitya The Caitya-yajña is of course a sacrifice performed as a Vedic ritual But who were the deities of the Caityas to whom bali was offered? Nārāyana, the commentator cites the names of Śankara, Paśupati, Aryā, Jyesthā etc but they might have been any deities It is not unlikely that some of these Caityas were sanctuaries dedicated to such deities as Rudra, Skanda, Vaiśramana, Mukunda, Nāga, Yaksa, Indra and others whose festivals, caityas etc are often referred to in the Jaina canons [4] Was it an attempt to give Vedic colour to the worship which had penetrated into the Aryan folks from the Dravidian masses? The cults of the phallus, and of the mother-goddesses, Nāgas, Yaksas and other nature spirits are probably elements of Dravidian origin and in the words of Dr Coomaraswamy, " the shift from abstract symbolism to anthropomorphic iconography in the period of theistic and *bhakti* development, marks a final victory of the conquered over the conquerors

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[1] See, Dikshitar, *op cit*, p 445, also see, Caitya-Vāda-Samīkṣā where Pt Hamsarāja Shāstrī has discussed this passage with extracts from commentaries of Nārāyana and Haradatta

[2] Dikshitar, *op cit*, p 445.

[3] Āśvalāyana Grhya Sūtra, 3 6 8 cf the commentaries

नारायणीय वृत्तिः—अग्निचयनस्थं यूप स्पृष्ट्वा ।

हरिदत्ताचार्य —चित्योऽग्नि तत्र भवो यूपश्चैत्यः ।

Also cf. चैत्य used in a similar sense in Mahābhārata, XIV 10-32—

तत सवर्तश्चैत्यगतो महात्मा, यथा वह्निः प्रज्वलितो द्वितीयः ।

हवींष्युच्चैराहव्यन् देवसघान् जुहावाग्नौ मंत्रवित् सुप्रतीत. ॥

Also, चैत्ययूपाङ्किता भूमिर्यस्येयं सवनाकरा । MBH आ. प. 2 229 is explained by a comm as चित्ये चयनवति क्रतौ विहिताश्चैत्यास्ते च ते यूपाश्च तैरंकिताः ।

A reading of Kanvaśākhīya Śatapatha Brāhmana, 13.4 3 1, noted by Pandit Hamsarāja, is—चैत्ये होवाच ब्रह्मा ।

[4] *Nāyādhammakahāo*, II 40. pp. 49 f, I. 25 p. 23, *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* (Āgamodaya Samiti ed), 2. 1. 1. 2. sū. 12, p. 328.

In particular, the popular, Dravidian element, must have played the major part in all that concerns the development and office of image-worship, that is *pūjā* as distinct from *yajña* "[1] The Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra is assigned generally to the sixth century but probably belongs to a much earlier date.[2]

The original association of Caitya or Citya with Vedic yajña also continued in the age of the Mahābhārata which refers to the region made sacred by hundreds of *caitya-yūpa*—[3] the caitya and yūpa (or caitya-yūpa, = sacrificial posts) were in one and the same place; but in another context the epic refers in glowing terms to the country full of caityas and yūpas,[4] where Caityas are supposed to refer to places of sacred yajñas but may refer to shrines and stūpas also But in तत संवर्तश्चैत्यगतो महात्मा etc quoted above, or in चैत्ययूपाङ्किता भूमिर्यस्येयं सवनाकरा (MBH आ प 2 229) the word Caitya primarily denotes Yajñasthāna. The Śabdakalpadruma quotes an ancient passage of Bharata to indicate that caitya is yajñasthāna or yajñāyatana This is a sacred place for the performance of yajñas It may possess citya or it may not possess one (यज्ञस्थानं केचित्तुमुखरहितं देवकुलसदृशं यज्ञायतन सचित्यमचित्यमपीत्याहु·).[5] This as shown by Dikshitar refers to two uses of cayana The first is like the *Garuḍacayana-yāga* wherein special bricks are spread in the form of an eagle lying down on earth. On it different oblations are offered The second forms part of a great sacrifice like the Aśvamedha wherein the cayana ritual consisted in collecting sacred ashes, sacrificial utensils etc, and piling them up in a certain place apparently fenced with walls of stone, brick or mud, the enclosure being devoid of any mukha or entrance, the underlying idea being that the place may not get defiled by anybody.

When Rāma went to Daṇḍaka through Kośala he found the whole country

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[1] Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, p 5 For Yakṣa worship in Jainism, see, Shah U P, in JOI, Vol III, no 1

[2] Dikshitar, *op cit*, p. 440

[3] भीष्मेण धर्मतो राजन्सर्वत· परिरक्षिते ।
बभूव रमणीयश्च चैत्ययूपशताङ्कित· ॥ *Mahābhārata*, I. 109 13

[4] Cf. यत्र यूपा मणिमयाश्चैत्याश्चापि हिरण्मया· । *MBH*. II. 3.12 The commentators, and Pt Hamsarāja Shastri take चैत्य = यज्ञस्थान here but I am doubtful. When the expression is चैत्ययूप the above sense is possible but in this case चैत्य and यूप are two different things. चैत्य may here refer to shrines or stūpas.

[5] See also Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, p. 442 ; he writes : the term citya and caitya are correlated and connoted one and the same thing in the second half of the Vedic period.

adorned with caityas and yūpas [1] The association of caityas with Brahmaghoṣa and yajñamaṇḍapa is also seen in Mṛcchakaṭika, X 12 as pointed out by Dikshitar.

But in the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata, Caitya is used in a wider application as well In Rāmāyana, for example, we hear of Caitya-gṛhas (V. 12 15), Caitya-prāsādas (V 43 3), or Caitya-vṛkṣas [2] (V 12 8, and in MBH. VI 3 40) The Caitya in Rāmā yudh. 85 29, is the shrine of the city-goddess of Laṅkā while Caitya in *ibid*, 39 24, is the palace of Rāvaṇa [3]

The Arthasāstra of Kautilya refers to Caitya in several contexts, in many cases caitya is used in the sense of a shrine with an icon worshipped in it, compare आक्रोशाद्देवचैत्यानामुत्तमं दण्डमर्हति (III 18) or दैवत चैत्यं सिद्धपुण्यस्थानमौपपादिकं वा रात्रावुत्थाप्य यात्रासमाजाभ्यामजीवेत् (V 2) or एवं गृहीतदुर्गो वा प्राश्यप्राशं चैत्यमुपस्थाप्य दैवतप्रतिमाछिद्रं प्रविश्यासीत् (XII 5) चैत्यदैवतद्वाररक्षास्थानेषु च सत्रिणः समयकर्मनिक्षेप हिरण्याभिज्ञानमुद्राणि हिरण्यभाजनानि प्ररूपयेयु (XI 1) [4] The Nikumbhilā Caitya of Lankā mentioned in Rāmāyana, yuddhakānda, 85 29, 82 24, 84 14 etc, was a shrine dedicated to Nikumbhilā according to commentators Thus the *caitya-daivata* of the Arthaśāstra means a deity in a caitya or shrine (edifice) and *daivata-caitya* of the same text refers to a sanctuary or edifice dedicated to a god or a spirit

Kautilya refers to *pūjā* offered to caityas by people in order to avert evil attacks of demons On the full and new moon days the caitya was propitiated by offering at the altar an umbrella, a small flag and goat's flesh (Bk IV chp 3) We see the prominence of Caitya worship in the age of the

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[1] ततो धान्यधनोपेतान् दानशीलजनाश्रितान् ।
अकुतश्चिद्भयान्रम्यांश्चैत्ययूपसमावृतान् ॥ *Rāmāyana*, II 50 8

[2] cf देवायतनचैत्येषु सान्नभक्ष्या सदक्षिणा । *Rāmāyana*, II 3 18
Here चैत्य is explained by comm as रथ्यावृक्ष.

[3] निकुम्भिलाचैत्यममियर्यौ, चैत्यं रावणपालितम् ॥ *Rāmā* VI 85.29, also, see, ibid., VI. 82. 24, 84 14

Compare—*Rāmā* VI 39 21-23

घनैरिवातपापाये मध्यमं वैष्णवं पदम् ॥ २१ ॥
यस्य स्तम्भसहस्रेण प्रासादः समलंकृतः ।
कैलासशिखराकारो दृश्यते खमिवोल्लिखन् ॥ २२ ॥
चैत्यः स राक्षसेन्द्रस्य बभूव पुरभूषणम् ।

cf Comm :—चैत्यं वर्तुलाकारत्वात् बुद्धायतनमिव प्रासादम् ।

[4] Also see, *Arthaśāstra*, IV 3, XIII-1., XIII. 2, and comm of Mādhavayajvā on all these passages

Arthaśāstra. In the words of Dikshitar, "From that of the shrine the application of Caitya was extended to a *bimba* or deity in the shrine." [1]

It seems that Caitya meaning something piled-up, a fire-altar, a yajña-sthāna, had started acquiring the sense of a memorial or relic structure The utensils etc left at the end of a sacrifice, as also the site of the sacrifices like the piled-up Garuḍa-cayana, protected with a compound-wall, served the purpose of a sacred memorial of the sacrifice once performed Of such use were also the *caitya-yūpas* or sacrificial posts Funeral memorials were also in vogue and the funeral pile or funeral mound could also obtain the designation of a citya or caitya since it was regarded as something sacred, fit for offering A *caitya-druma* could also exist on the cremation ground. The Arthaśāstra refers to such trees in Bk XIII 2 and V 2 where the expression *caitya-sthāna* refers to the burial ground Vālmīki describes that Rāvana was as fearful looking as the *śmaśāna-caitya* which, according to Dikshitar, only means the caitya or tree growing in the burial ground ' In the Rāmāyaṇa, I 58 *12*, चित्यमाल्यानुलेप is explained by Govindarāja as—चिता श्मशानं तत्रभवं चित्य तादृशं माल्यम् ।

According to Manu, X 50, underneath the shade of Caitya-trees in burial grounds, Caṇḍāla and similar castes were to find their residence Trees and *asthi caityas* etc, served as boundaries of a grāma or janapada according to Yājñavalkya, II 151

But *Caitya-vṛksas* were not confined to burial grounds only. Tree-worship was an age-long practice in India and latterly some trees became demarcated caityas and worship was offered to them Of such type are also the shrines of the Bodhi-tree illustrated in reliefs at Bhārhut and Sāñchī showing the adoption of the ancient Tree-Worship by the Buddhists In some cases the *caitya-vrksas* served as boundaries of gardens and fields [2] Felling of branches of trees of a caitya or of caityas is prohibited by Yājñavalkya, II 228 The grāma-caityas of Meghadūta, 23, are interpreted as caitya-vṛkṣas by Mallinātha who quotes Visvaprakāśa-kośa of Mahesvara in support.[3] Kulluka on Manu, 10 50, explains *caitya-druma* as *grāmādisamīpe khyātavṛksah* The Trikāṇḍa-śesakośa gives Caitya-druma as a synonym of the Pippla tree [4] The Aśvattha tree is treated as the Tree of Life in the Bhagavad-Gītā, adhyāya XV [5]

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1 *Op cit*, p 448.

2 *Kautilya, Arthaśāstra*, II 4 and 35

3 ' चैत्यमायतने बुद्धवन्द्ये चोद्देशपादपे । इति विश्व. '.

4 पिप्पलो बादरंग. स्यात् चैत्यद्रुमः केशवालय

5 For the conception of Tree of Life, see, Coomaraswamy, *Elements of Buddhist Iconography* With this one may also note the conception of कल्पद्रुम or The Wish-giving Tree

It seems that a sacred tree demarcated for worship was called a ***caitya-tree*** when it had a platform or a railing round the stem, something piled-up and marking it as a holy object [1]

In Buddhist literature, Cetiya came to be generally used in the sense of a hallow, a sacred-symbol or cult-object but not exclusively as a funeral relic In the Kalingabodhi-Jātaka (J iv 228), Buddha asks how many kinds of hallows (*cetiya*) there are? Three, says, Ānanda, with implied reference to contemporary non-Buddhist usage, "namely, those of the body (śārīraka), those of association (pāribhogaka) and those prescribed (uddeśika)" The Buddha rejects the śārīraka and the uddeśika on different grounds and recommends that "only a Mahābodhi-rukkha, Great-Wisdom-Tree, that has been associated with a *Buddha* is fit to be a *cetiya*, whether the Buddha be still living, or Absolutively Extinguished" [2] This occurs also in the Mahābodhi-vamśa (PTS. ed , p. 59) Commenting on this passage, Dr Coomaraswamy writes, "a cetiya, as appears from the present text and elsewhere, is not primarily a building, but any object made use of as a sacred symbol or cult-object. A shrine in the sense of a "temple" is a *cetiya gṛha* " [3] But it is true that the tree (and the symbols like the wheel, the lotus etc) had older than Buddhist application as suggested by Dr Coomaraswamy, for had not Sujātā indeed mistaken the Boddhisattva for a *rukkha devatā* ?

The Khuddakapāṭha Atthakathā (PTS ed, 1915, p 222) explains *uddisaka-cetiyam* as *Buddha-patimā*

In the Lalitavistara of the Buddhists we find a *Cetiya* erected at the spot from which Chandaka returned with Buddha's ornaments It was called Chandaka-nivartana-Caitya Buddha's *cūḍā* (hair) was worshipped by Trāyastrimśa gods who erected a caitya in its honour [4] Caitya of course was a pre-Buddha institution We read in the Mahāparinibbāna sutta that Buddha spoke of the efficiency of erecting dhātu-caityas, and himself visited caityas like Udena, Gotama, Sattambaka etc [5] The Dīgha Nikāya shows that Buddha lived at the Ānanda-cetiya in Bhojanagara [6]

Let us now turn to the Jaina canoncial literature The Ācārānga Sūtra refers to festivals in honour of *Ceiyas* (चेइयमहेसु) along with those (in honour)

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[1] The Jaina *Samavāyānga sūtra*, sū 156, refers to the caitya-vṛksas of the 24 Tīrthankaras Abhayadeva commenting on the word writes —चेइयरुक्खा-बद्धपीठवृक्षा:, येषामध केवलान्युत्पन्नानि-इति.

[2] Also see, Coomaraswamy, *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 3-7

[3] *Ibid*, p 63.

[4] *Lalitavistara*, adhyāya 15, pp 277-278

[5] *Mahāparinibbāna sutta*, Chp. III. 36-47

[6] *Dīgha Nikāya*, II p 123

of Indra, Rudra, Skanda, Mukunda, Bhūta, Yakṣa, Nāga, Stūpa, Vṛkṣa, Mountain, Agada, tank, lake, river, ocean etc, and prohibits Jaina monks from accepting food distributed at such festivals [1] A similar list is given in the Jñātādharmakathā-sūtra where, on seeing many people going out to see Mahāvīra, a person in Rājagṛha asks whether it was a festival in honour of Indra, Rudra etc.[2] Similarly, the Bhagavatī sūtra shows that when Mahāvīra reaches Ksatriyakuṇḍa-grāma, Jamāli puts the same question on seeing people flocking to see Mahāvīra [3] Paṇḍit Hamsarāja Shāstri suggests that in these contexts, Ceiya or Cetiya-mahotsava is a festival at the end of a sacrifice.[4] Of course we are here reminded of the Caitya-yajña of the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya sūtra, but the Caitya-mahotsava may be festival of any of the existing Caitya or holystead, a shrine, like the Pūrṇabhadra, Bahuputrikā, Guṇaśila and other Caityas mentioned in the Jaina texts or the Gotama, Ānanda and such other Caityas referred to in Buddhist works. But since Yakṣa, Nāga and others are separately mentioned in the lists of festivals noted above, it is just probable that the Caitya-mahotsava here refers to yajñasthāna or vedic cayana or to the three types of cetiyas discussed by Buddha or generally to all the holysteads and cult-objects not specified as Indra, Rudra, Stūpa, Vṛkṣa etc.

At another place in the Ācārānga Sūtra we find the use of the word चेइयाइं[5] where Ceiya is used in the sense of a structure or edifice (a piled-up thing) erected and offered for residence to the Jaina monks This explanation offered by the commentator Śilānka-ācārya[6] seems quite appropriate in the context.

A third type of reference to Ceiya in the Ācārānga is still more interesting as it speaks of रुक्खं वा चेइयकड, थूभं वा चेइयकड (Ācā. 12. 1.3 3, p 352). Śīlānka explains this as रुक्ख वा चेइयकडति वृक्षस्याधो व्यन्तरादिस्थलकं, स्तूप वा व्यन्तरादिकृतं......। Evidently the tree or stūpa is here said to be *caityādhisthita* or *caityopalaksita* [7]

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[1] *Ācārānga Sūtra* 2 1 1 2, p. 328.

[2] *Nāyādhammakahāo*, 1. 25, p 23

[3] *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, śataka 9, uddeśa 33

[4] चैत्यवाद समीक्षा, p 55

[5] *Ācārānga*, 2 1 2 2 sū., 80, pp 366 67

[6] cf —तदेवंभूते आगारादिभि: गृहस्थैः बहून श्रमणादीन् उद्दिश्य तत्र तत्र आरामादौ यानशालादीनि स्वार्थं कुर्वद्भि. श्रमणाद्यवकाशार्थं 'चेइयाइ' महान्ति कृतानि भवन्ति, तानि चागाराणि स्वनामग्राह दर्शयन्ति. । *op cit*, p. 366

[7] With this one may also note references to चैत्यवृक्षs, चैत्यस्तूपs, and चैत्यस्तम्भs, in *Jīvājivābhigama sūtra*, (D L J P F no. 50), sū 142, pp 251-252, sū 137, pp. 225 ff For चैत्यस्तूपs also see *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti*, 1, 2 sū. 33, p. 158 and Comm. of Śānticandra on p. 163.

Pandit Hamsarāja Shāstri thinks that even here चैत्यकृतवृक्ष and चैत्यकृतस्तूप suggest यज्ञिय or यज्ञसम्बन्धि वृक्ष and यज्ञसम्बन्धि-स्तूप. In support of his explanation he cites the Laugākṣa-Grhya-Sūtra (5 1 71)—यज्ञियस्य वृक्षस्य प्रागायता शाखां। But what about the expression चैत्यकृत-स्तूप? Does ceiyakaḍam here mean intended for worship, intended as a cult-object?

In the Ācārānga sūtra a Jaina monk is asked not to ease himself or pass water on the sites of funeral caityas or funeral stūpas (मडयचेइगेसु वा मडयथूभियासु वा = मृतकचैत्येषु वा मृतकस्तूपिकासु वा –).[4] Here caitya is used in the sense of a relic sanctuary or structure (something piled up) demarcating a sacred spot, the sense of its being a funeral one is conveyed by the word मडय = मृतक. Thus here again Caitya has the sense of a holystead

A stock expression कल्लाणं मंगल देवयं चेइय विणएण पज्जुवासणिज्जो or पज्जुवासेमो is often met with in the Jaina canons Below are quoted some of these references —

(1) तहारूव समण वा माहण वा वंदित्ता नमंसित्ता सक्कारेत्ता सम्माणेत्ता कल्लाणं मंगल देवय चेइय पज्जुवासेत्ता। (*Sthānānga Sūtra*, 3 1)

Abhayadeva sūri, commenting says,—कल्याण समृद्धिस्तद्धेतुत्वात्, साधुरपि कल्याण, एव मंगल विघ्नक्षयस्तद्योगात् मगलं, दैवत इव (देवतेव) दैवतं, चैत्यमिव-जिनादिप्रतिमेव चैत्य श्रमण पर्युपास्य उपसेव्येति।

(2) तं गच्छामो ण देवाणुप्पिया! समण भगव महावीर वदामो णमसामो सक्कारेमो सम्माणेमो कल्लाण मगल देवय चेइय पज्जुवासेमो। (*Rāyapasenaiyam*, ed by Pt Bechardās, p 39, also see, *Aupapātika sūtra*, sū 27)

(3) त गच्छामि ण समण भगव महावीरं वदामि नमसामि सेय खलु मे समणं भगव महावीरं वंदित्ता नमंसित्ता सक्कारेत्ता सम्माणेत्ता कल्लाण मंगल देवय चेइय पज्जुवासेत्ता। (*Bhagavatī sūtra*, 2 1 sū 91, pp 113 ff)

Abhayadeva sūri explains —दैवत देव चैत्यम्–इष्टदेवप्रतिमा चैत्यमेव चैत्यं ·। He gives the same explanation on the Aupapātika sūtra passage noted above

(4) Different Caityas are referred to in Jaina sūtras They are generally situated on the outskirts of a village, town or a big city and Mahāvīra is often reported to have stayed in the different caityas at different places during his wanderings Thus he stayed in the Pūrnabhadra caitya outside the city of Campā, in the Āmraśālavana-Ca at Āmalakappā, in the Gunaśila-Ca at Rājagrha and so on In all such references the commentators explain Çaitya as a *Vyantara-āyatana*, i e, a shrine of a deity of the Vyantara class of gods. Sometimes in the Vipāka sūtra we find the term *Jakkhāyayana* used by the

[4] *Ācārānga*, 2 2 3, sū 166, p. 410.

text itself. The Antagaḍadasão Sutta refers to a shrine of Mudgarapāṇi-*yakṣa* at Rājagṛha. The stock description of such Caityas is the description of the Pūrṇabhadra Caitya given in the Aupapātika Sūtra. And in this description itself, the Pūrṇabhadra-Caitya is described as कल्लाणं मंगल देवयं चेइयं विणएणं पज्जुवासणिज्जो। Abhayadeva, the commentator, explains this as कल्याणं अर्थहेतुः, मंगलं अनर्थप्रतिपत्ति-हेतु:, दैवतं-देवः चैत्यं इष्टदेवप्रतिमा ....1(p 4).

We are here reminded of those passages from the Arthaśāstra (discussed above) which use an identical expression दैवतं चैत्य, as also चैत्य दैवत and help us to arrive at a correct understanding of the *devayam ceiyam* of the Jaina Aṅga texts देवय goes with चेइयं and the expression should be understood as referring to a sanctuary dedicated to a god or a spirit, the चैत्यदैवत meaning the *god in a caitya.*

Viewed in this light, the passage of the Áśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra referring to *Caitya-yajña* and enjoining a bali to *caitya* would be taken to refer to a shrine dedicated to some *devatā* to which an offering was to be offered. The Jaina references are from works later than the Gṛhya Sūtra but they refer to conditions already existing in the age of Mahāvīra and we need not doubt the validity of the Jaina statements when other known evidences do not contradict them

The archaeological evidences of Yakṣa statues dating from the Mauryan age (e g the Didārganj yakṣī) would show the existence of Daivata Caityas and Caitya Devatās in the Mauryan age The Pūrnabhadra Caitya described in the Jaina Aupapātika Sūtra is called *Porāna* and *Cirātīta*, old, ancient and well renowned Mahāvīra stayed in this Caitya, which was already porāna and cirātīta in his age [1]

We have also seen that the Buddhists used Cetiya in the sense of a hallow and cult object But Cetiya also denoted a stūpa and as noted by Dikshitar Cetiya is similarly used in the Tamil language also A question arises Was this term Caitya or Cetiya adopted from the Dravidians and other races by the Aryans or was it originally Aryan ?

The original etymological sense seems to be of something piled up-from

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[1] The Pṛthvī-śilā patta in the shrine is described as shining like a mirror and soft to touch like butter Evidently it had a highly polished surface If it was a terracotta plaque, as the prefix Prthvī would suggest, then it was technically like the N B P Ware which can now be dated from c 6th century B C. Thus Pūrnabnadra Caitya was indeed porāna and cirātīta Cf Shah, U P, *So-called Mauryan Polish in Jain Literature*, Journ of the M. S University of Baroda, June 1955

$\sqrt{ci}$-cayane, but since caitya or cetiya was used also with reference to funeral relics and objects of worship or sanctuaies of Yakṣas, etc , where *bhakti* predominates, is it possible to infer that the term *Daivata Caitya* was used in order to differentiate such shrines from *Yajñiya caityas* or *Yajñiya cityas* as also from *Mṛtaka caityas ?*

The above analysis will show that Caityas existed in the pre-Buddha epoch, at least in the sixth century B C., or say in the later part of the Sūtra period These caityas were sanctuaries, holysteads, both with or without an icon, including *dhātu-caityas* The description of the Pūrnabhadra Caitya in the Aupapātika shows that the text does not refer to any image of the Yaksa statue worshipped in it and the Pṛthvī-Śilā-patta at the stem of the Aśoka tree in the forest-grove of the Caitya was possibly meant to represent the Pūrnabhadra Yakṣa, or else the text as handed down in the Valabhī vācanā is incomplete. But the Antagadadasāo refers to another shrine of *Moggarapāni Jakkha* which *did* contain an image of the *Mudgarapāni yaksa*, so called because he held an iron club in his hand [1]

Mahāvīra would not stay in the *Yajñiya-cityas, Yajña-sālās* He stayed in Caityas which were certainly non-Vedic in character and at the same time were visited by a large number of the masses [2] It is therefore advisable to regard the Pūrnabhadra and such other Caityas[3] as essentially non-Vedic, non-Aryan in origin, one of the essential elements of which seems to be a big Caitya-vṛksa with a Śilā-paṭṭa below it It is for this reason that both Buddhism and Jainism lay stress on the Caitya-vrkṣas in their worship Let us see how a Caitya of Tīrthankaras is described in the Jaina canonical works

The Bhagavatī sūtra discusses the supernatural powers of certain classes of Jaina monks who can fly to the mythical Nandīśvara-dvīpa and worship the Caityas thereon [4] These *ceiyāim* are obviously the Śāśvata-Jina-āyatanās situated on the different mountains, also referred to as Siddhāyatanas in different texts The stock description of a Siddhāyatana shows that there were *mukhamaṇḍapas* in front of each of the four entrances to the shrine, in front of each mukhamandapa is a *prekṣāgṛha* or theatre. In front of each theatre was a *ceiia-thūbha* on a *manipīthikā* In front of each stūpa was a jewelled platform above which were images of Jinas (*Jina-padimā*) facing the stūpa There were also jewelled platforms with a *ceiia-rukkha* (caitya-vṛkṣa)

1 *Antagadadasāo* (Āgamodaya Samiti ed), sūtra 13, pp 19 ff

2 See, *Yakshas*, Part 1 and 2, by Dr. A. K Coomaraswamy

3 For a list of such Caityas from Jaina texts, see, Shah, U. P , *Yakṣa Worship In Early Jaina Literature*, Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol III no 1.

4 *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, 20. 9, sū 684, 794.

on each of them.[1]

In both the above-mentioned cases, namely, *cetiia-thūbha* and the *cetiia-rukkha*, the sense of a funeral relic is not fully warranted[2] In fact, Jaina texts speak of *Mānavaka-stambhas* on which bone-relics *sakahā* of the Jinas were worshipped by keeping them in round diamond-boxes hung on the pillars These stambhas are said to have been situated in the Sudharmā sabhā of different Indras[3]

Thus the Caitya-vṛkṣas in the above description need not be funeral relics but are only Holy Trees with a platform below. Even the caitya-stūpas in the above description need not necessarily be funeral mounds. Firstly, we must remember that this is a description of a shrine in heavens whose counterpart on earth is nowhere referred to in the Jaina canons Mahāvīra is never said to have visited a Jina-āyatana Obviously, shrines dedicated to Tīrthankaras seem to post-date Mahāvīrā[4] and the passages referring to Śāśvata-Jināyatanas

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[1] *Sthānānga Sūtra* (Āgamodaya Samiti ed), 4 2 sūtra 307, Vol. I pp. 229 ff.

[2] cf Abhayadeva's commentary—चेतितथूभा चैत्यस्य सिद्धायतनस्य प्रत्यासन्ना स्तूपा प्रतीताश्चैत्यस्तूपा., चित्ताल्हादकत्वाद्वा चैत्या स्तूपा चैत्यस्तूपाः......। *Ibid*, p. 232.

For a description of such Caitya-stūpas, see, *Rāyapasenaijjam* (Vaidya's edition, Ahmedabad, 1938), pp 53-56.

[3] cf " .. . सोहम्मे कप्पे सुहम्माए सभाए माणवए चेइयखम्भे हेट्ठा उवरिं च अद्धतेरस अद्धतेरस जोयणाणि वज्जेत्ता मज्झे पणतीस जोयणेसु वइरामएसु गोलवट्टसमुग्गएसु जिणसकहाओ पण्णत्ता . .. । *Samavāyānga Sūtra*, sū 35, p 63, also see Abhayadeva's comm thereon

[4] Shrines of Arhats are referred to in other contexts on rare occasions The following references to such shrines may be noted —

(a) णणत्थ अरिहते वा अरिहतचेइयाणि वा अणगारे वा भावियप्पणो णीसाए उड्ढ उप्पयति जाव सोहम्मो कप्पो.. .. । *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, 3 2 sūtra 145, p 175

(b) " तए ण से आणन्दे गाहावई.. एव वयासी ।" नो खलु मे भन्ते कप्पइ अज्जप्पभिइ अन्नउत्थिए वा अन्नउत्थियदेवयाणि वा अन्नउत्थियपरिग्गहियाणि अरिहतचेइयाइं वा वन्दित्तए वा नमसित्तए वा .. ।"

Uvāsagadasāo (Ātmānanda Sabhā, Bhavnagar, ed), p. 14

The commentator Abhayadeva Sūri says—अन्ययूथिकदैवतानि वा हरिहरादीनि । अन्ययूथिकपरिगृहीतानि वा अर्हच्चैत्यानि अर्हन्प्रतिमालक्षणानि यथा भौतपरिगृहीतानि वीरभद्रमहाकालादिनि । *op. cit*, p 15.

It will be seen that the passage refers to a stage in Jaina history when some Jaina shrines were appropriated by other sects. The passage pre supposes such untoward events and is therefore comparatively late

must be regarded as referring to an age later than the epochs suggested by the references to the Pūrṇabhadra and other caityas Stūpa worship does not seem to have been so popular amongst the Jainas as amongst the Buddhists, because image-worship seems to have started earlier in Jainsm than in Buddhism So, the inclusion of Cetita-thūbhas in a Siddhāyatana is only due to the popularity of Stūpa worship in India, amongst other sects, especially amongst the Buddhists This does not however mean that Stūpa worship did not exist in Jainism Only, the author of the description knew full well that the stūpas in the different Siddhāyatanas in heavens were not raised on cremation grounds of the various Tīrthankaras

Jaina commentators explain Caitya in the following manner .—
चितेर्लेप्यादिचयनस्य भावः कर्म वा चैत्यम्, तच्च सञ्ज्ञाशब्दत्वाद्देवताबिम्बे प्रसिद्ध, तत. तदाश्रयभूत यद्देवतायाः गृहं तदप्युपचाराच्चैत्यमुच्यते ।[1]

Thus though caitya is derived from *citi* or *cita*, the meaning of the term is extended to an image of a deity, and since a shrine is an abode of the image (caitya), the abode is also called Caityam by uapacāra [2]

The word *cete* in the Uttarādhyayana, 9 9 10 is interpreted by the commentator as udyāna or park and Jacobi suggests that it meant "a tree" [3] Sacred trees were called Caityas in the Epics where it is said that 'not even the leaf of a Caitya may be destroyed, for the Caityas are the resort of Devas, Yakṣas, Nāgas, Apsarasas, Bhūtas etc.[4] We have however the evidence of a Harappā seal showing a tree enclosed in a railing,[5] which was nothing but the worship of Caitya-vrkṣas, though it is not possible to say whether the term Caitya or Caitya-vrksa was current in the age of the Harappā seal

Two processes then seem to have worked one regarding Caitya primarily as Cayana or Yajñasthāna and secondarily as anything piled up, the other connected with piling up of a tumulus over remains of the dead, the *śmaśāna* being four-cornered or round as shown by the *Śatapatha Brāhmana* [6] Being a piled-up sacred object, deserving worship and offering, it came to be known

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[1] Commentary of Śānticandra on *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti*, sū 1, p 9 Also see, Abhayadeva's comm on *Bhagavati sūtra*, 1 1., explaining Caitya in identical expression

[2] Cf the use of the term *caityālaya* in पुगणो वि वीयरागाणा पडिमाउ चेइयालए etc, *Mahānisitha sūtra*, ms B O R I, no 165 of 1881-82, folio 2

[3] *Uttarādhyayana sūtra*, ix 9, SBE Vol XIV, p 36 and note

[4] *Mahābhārata*, Śānti parva, 69 42, Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, p 47

[5] *Vedic Age*, p 188 and pl VII 8

[6] *Śatapatha Brāhmana*, SBE. Vol XLIV. pp 424-29, also see, Shah, Priyabālā, *Aḍūka*, Journal of the Oriental Institute, I No 3, pp 278 ff.

as Caitya or Caity-stūpa. A sacred tree with a platform erected at base (piled-up) or enclosed in a railing, being an object of worship, came to be called a Caitya or Caitya-vṛkṣa. Thus all sacred objects and places of worship came to be called Caityas. The idol or the cult-object worshipped in such a shrine also gradually came to be called a Caitya The processes seems to be just the reverse of what has been imagined by the Jaina commentators in their explanation of the word Caitya, in the passage cited above

This is only tracing the origin and development of the term Caitya and not necessarily of the objects to which it was applied It must however be remembered that the four-sided *Daiva* or the round *Āsura Prācya* śmaśānas or funeral mounds referred to by the Śatapatha, were not mentioned as Caityas or Caitya-stūpas in the Śatapatha though later known as such and though their worship existed from very early times.

It would be a mistake to suppose, as has been done by Dikshitar and others that Cetiya in the Buddhist passages of the Mahāparinibbāna sutta [1] and the Dīgha Nikāya,[2] referred to funeral mounds or Stūpas only of Udena, Sattambaka and others The Bahuputtikā-cetiyam in the Mahāparinibbāna sutta is really identical with the caitya of the same name at Viśālā (Vaiśālī) and Mithilā mentioned in the Jaina Bhagavatī and the Vipāka sūtras. The Bahuputrikā Caitya was dedicated to a goddess of the name who was a prototype of the later Buddhist Hārīti Some of these Buddhist Cetiyas were therefore similar to the Pūrnabhadra Caitya described in the Aupapātika sūtra Jaina commentators have rightly called it a Yakṣa-āyatana since Pūrṇabhadra and Mānibhadra are well-known as ancient Yaksas

The Pūrnabhadra Caitya was in the udyāna or park called Āmraśālavana, situated to the N E of the city of Campā It was very old in age (cirātīta) recognised by people of old, ancient (porāṇa), famous, praised everywhere, and *jñāta* (? of the Jñātṛ-people ?). It was decorated with an umbrella (or umbrellas), banners, bells, flags, *atipatākās* (flags surmounted on flags), whisks or brushes of peacock-feathers (*lomahatthaga*) and having a railing (*vitardikā-vedikā*, according to Abhayadeva, which would also mean, 'containing a sacrificial altar'), its inside floor was coated with cow-dug and the wall-surfaces were polished by rubbing with cowries, it bore palm-impressions in red-giśīrṣa or dardara-sandal, was adorned with *candana ghatas* (auspicious jars), and on its entrance-doors were *toranas* (arches) with candana-ghata decorations It was sprinkled all over with perfumed water and garlands were hung,

[1] *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, Chap III secs 36-47 Also, Fleet's article in J R A S, (1906), pp 657 ff, Law B C, *History of Pali Literature*, p 100

[2] *Dīgha Nikāya*, II p 113 For a discussion on the Cetiyas of Buddhist Literature, see, Law, B C, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, appendix.

it was odorous with flowers of five colours, and with burning incense of *kālāguru*, *kundurukka* and *turukka* It was haunted by actors, dancers, rope-walkers (*jalla*), wrestlers, boxers, experts in mimics (*vidambaka*), ballad-singers, story-tellers, pole-dancers (*lāsaka*), picture-showmen (*mankha*), pipe-players, lute-players and minstrels. Many people visited the shrine which deserved praise, offerings, worship with sandal-paste etc., gifts, adoration and respect, and which like a benefic, auspicious, *devayam* (divine acc to comm) *ceiam* (image, according to commentators), deserved to be propitiated with due respect, which when worshipped with desire, did not fail to fulfil it (*saccopāye*) and which was attended upon by divine *prātihāryas* It deserved a gift of a share from sacrifices. (*Aupapātika sūtra, sūtra 2*)

On all sides of it was a big forest-grove (*vanakhanda*) with a central big Aśoka-tree (obviously a Caitya-vrksa) with a *Pṛthvī-śilā-patta* under it attached to its stem [1] (*Aupapātika, sūtra*, sū. 3-5)

What was the plan of the Caitya ? The text is silent and it seems as if one or more sūtras are missing It may be inferred that it had more than one entrance, probably one in each direction, and a walled structure It may be said that it was something like the *Bodhi*-shrine in a Śunga relief from Mathurā (now in Boston Museum) illustrated by Coomaraswamy, HIIA, fig 70 (also cf. his fig 69)

It seems that a yaksa shrine was walled or open square hall with the stone umbrella over the deity serving as a roof, with four poles supporting the umbrella at four ends and with a central pole against which stood either one image or four images on four sides [2] It was the prototype of the *Gandhakuti* of a Jina in his Samavasarana (which we shall have occasion to discuss later under 'samavasarana') It is further inferred from representations like fig 69, 69A, of HIIA, that such tiered shrines have for their basis the conception of *Jārūka* or *ziggurat* (or *Aidūka*), discussed by Dr V. S Agarwaal, [3] which were

[1] Discussed later under *Caitya-vṛksas* in this work

[2] This stone structure probably had an earlier wooden prototype For memorial Stone-Umbrellas and the Jaina account of them, see, *Stone Umbrellas From Mathurā* by U P. Shah, *Journal of the U P Historical Society*, Vol XIV (1951)

[3] Agrawala, V S , *Some Foreign Words in Ancient Sanskrit Literature* *J U P H S.*, Vol XXIII (1950), pp 151-152 Dr Priyabālā Shah is evidently wrong in suggesting that Aidūkas or Edūkas are Brahmanical or Vedic in origin The Samavasarana is based upon the architecture of a Stūpa which latter seems to have for its prototype that of the Ziggurat with three or more tiers. The Stūpa, the Ziggurat or the Samavasaraṇa are open or visible on all sides The Gandhakuti is the pavilion (open on 4 sides) on a dais in the centre of a Samavasarana In it sits the Jina visible on all sides

tiered structures or caityas. The Jaina description of the Samavasaraṇa, shorn of its poetic fancies and elaboration of later details, preserves for us the main plan of the Daiva or Āsurya funeral mound (*śmaśāna*) referred to in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, for, the Samavasaraṇa is also said to be either square or circular in plan. Detailed descriptions of a Jaina Stūpa are missing in the Jaina canons, but the conception of a Samavasaraṇa faithfully preserves the plan of such stūpas (cf. fig. 6 with fig 76) as also their essentials, and it seems the popularity of representations of Samavasaraṇa ultimately replaced the Stūpa-symbolism in Jaina worship

The stock description of a Jaina temple in Jaina canons is that of the Siddhāyatana The Siddhāyatana to the N E. of the Sudharmā Sabhā of Vijaya deva was 13½ yojanas in length and 6 yojanas and one krośa (about half of the length) in breadth and nine yojanas in height It had on it, above the entrance door-way, the *vedikā*-panel motif[1] and an arch, surmounted by Śālabhañjikās, it had beautiful pillars (round ?) of Vaidūrya gems, its floor inlaid with gems and gold and silver, its walls decorated with figures of mythical animals (*īhāmṛga*), oxen, Kinnaras (half-men and half-horses or-birds) crocodile, birds, dragons, winged-deer (*sarabha*), yaks (*camara*), elephants, creepers and lotus-rhizomes The abacus of columns had crowning figures of Vidyādhara pairs, with mechanism to show them moving. The shrine was adorned with thousands of sculptures or reliefs and with many domes (*thubhiya*), the tops decorated with bells, flags etc , white, lustrous, adorned with palm impressions of different sandal, its gates were adorned with auspicious pictures and arches surmounted by candana ghaṭas , there were flowers, garlands, perfumes and incenses It was adorned with figures of apsarasas

The shrine had three entrances In front of each entrance was a portico (*mukhamaṇḍapa*) adorned with the aṣṭamaṅgala-motifs In frount of these were *prekṣāgṛhamaṇḍapas* or assembly halls (theatres) In front of each prekṣāgṛhamaṇḍapa was a *Caitya stūpa* on a *maṇi pīṭhikā* (jewelled platforms). The Caitya-stūpas were white and shining, each two yojanas in area (*āyāma*-circumference, or length × breadth) and more than two yojanas in height, its surface covered with jewels, and surmounted by *aṣṭamangalas*, black chowries and flags On four sides of each stūpa were maṇipīṭhikās, each platform surmounted by Jina figures sitting in the *paryanka-āsana* (padmāsana), and facing the stūpa

In front of each Caitya-stūpa was a maṇipīṭhikā with a Caitya-vṛksa on it In front of each *Caitya-vṛksa* was a maṇipīṭhikā surmounted by a *mahendra-dhvaja* (*Indra—dhvaja*) with a round staff and adorned with thousands of flags,

[1] Cf. HIIA., fig 43, The motif is seen at Bhārhut and Sāñchī and also in several cave-temples.

aṣṭamaṅgalas etc. In front of each *mahendradhvaja* was a *Nandā-puṣkariṇī*, an artificial reservoir or tank.

In the centre of the Siddhāyatana, was a big maṇipīṭhikā, two yojanas in length and breadth and one yojana in height, on which was a big *Devacchandaka* (two yojanas in length and breadth and a little more than two yojanas in height), all made of jewels. In this Devacchandaka were installed 108 life-size images of Tīrthankaras On top of the Siddhāyatana were aṣṭamaṅgalas, flags etc.

It seems that the Devacchandaka was a sort of miniature shrine with pillars and arches in fornt It may be a row of miniature shrines or ornamental niches, each with an image of one Jina

The above account from Jīvājīvābhigama sūtra, 3 2 137 ff, includes all types of Jaina worship practised in ancient times, except mānavaka-stambhas etc which will be described later. The Caityastūpas, Caitya-vṛkṣas and the Mahendradhvajas described here do not form part of the main structure of the Siddhāyatana It seems that the Jaina temple (of the age of composition of this passage) consisted of a sanctum, an adjacent hall (or rather a portico only) and a preksāmaṇḍapa This last mentioned hall was possibly a little separated from the main structure though the Jaina texts do not explicitly say so The plan of the shrine would suggest that the passage dates from the Gupta Age Though the plan of the shrine can be assigned to this age, it must be remembered that the general description of decorative motifs, pillars etc, is of a much earlier tradition reaching back to at least the Kuṣāṇa age and sometimes to the age of the Bhārhut and Sāñchī stūpas

This is further suggested by the descriptions of Caitya-stūpas, Caitya-vṛkṣas etc as apart from the main shrine thus showing that there were such separate cult objects, analogous to such reliefs from Bhārhut, cf *HIIA*, figures 55, 70, 41 (Bodhi-tree), 45 (Dharma-cakra shrine), 42 (Caitya-stūpa), also from Amarāvati, illustrated in *HIIA*, figures 142 and 144-146

The Jaina account of the origin of Stūpas and Caityas must be referred to. Both the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras believe that the first person to erect on this earth the temples of the 24 Jinas of this age was Bharata Cakravartin, the son of the first Tīrthankara Rsabhanātha [2] Referring to the Nirvāṇa of Rṣabha, the Āvasyaka Niryukti says —

निव्वाण चिइगाई जिणस्स इक्खाग सेसयाण च ।
सकहा थूभ जिणहरे जायग तेणाहिअग्गित्ति ॥ gāthā 435.

[1] *Śatapatha Brāhmana*, SBE XLIV, pp 424-29 Also see, Shah Priyabālā, *Aidūka*, Joun of the Oriental Institute, I 3., pp. 278 ff

[2] cf. *Vasubindu-Pratisthāpātha*, V. 17, p 6

Haribhadra sūri, commenting on above,[1] says that Bharata erected in honour of the Lord, a Stūpa and a temple called Simhaniṣadyā-āyatana, one yojana in area and three gavyūtis in height and installed therein life-size images of the twenty-four Jinas, as also images of his hundred brothers, including an image of himself and in order to protect violation from others, placed as gate-keepers, mechanical figures made of iron (*lohamayān yantra-puruṣān*). This he did on mt. Aṣṭāpada (recognised generally as Kailāsa, often this Kailāsa is identified as Mt Śatruñjaya) which is the site of Ṛsabha's Nirvāṇa The tradition is also given by the earlier Avaśyaka Cūrni[2] on the basis of the still earlier Mūla Bhāsya-gāthā on this Niryukti verse[3]

The Jaina account of the cremation of a Tīrthankara and the consequent collection of bone relics by Indra and other gods,[4] including erection of stūpas on the cremation site by these gods given in the Jambūdvīpaprajñapti is noteworthy as it gives us an insight into the contemporary method of cremation and because it obtains an interesting parallel with the cremation in Buddhist accounts discussed at length by Barua, *Bhārhut*, Vol III, pp 12-22. In the Jaina

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[1] *Āvaśyaka Vṛtti*, p. 169

[2] *Āvaśyaka Cūrni*, pp 223 ff Also see, *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, p 169 and pp 300 ff

[3] *Āvaśyaka Vṛtti* p 169, *Bhāṣya* verse 45

[4] cf *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti* (Devachand Lalbhai Pustakoddhāra Fund, 1920), 2nd vaksaskāra, sūtra 33, pp 157-158 —

"तए ण सक्के देविंदे देवराया ..एव वयासी—खिप्पामेव भो देवाणुप्पिआ,...गोसीसवरचंदण-कट्ठाइ साहरह₂त्ता तओ चिइगाओ रएह एग भगवओ तित्थगरस्स एग गणधराण एग अवसेसाणं अणगाराण। तए ण ते चिइगाओ रएंति . तए ण से सक्के.. सद्दावेइ . खीरोदग समुद्दाओ खीरोदगं साहरह... से सक्के...तित्थगरसरीरं खीरोदगेण ण्हाणेति सरसेणं गोसीसवरचंदणेण अणुलिंपइ .. हंसलक्खण पडसाडयं णिअंसेइ सव्वालंकारविभूसिअ करेंति . तए णं सक्के. वयासी...सिबियाओ विउव्वह विउव्वंति.. भगवओ सरीरगं सीअं आरुहेंति . त्ता चिइगाए ठवेंति, तए णं से सक्के... अग्गिकुमारे देवे सद्दावेइ...चिइगाए...अगणिकायं विउव्वह...विउव्वंति . तए णं से सक्के.. मेहकुमारे देवे सद्दावेइ चिइगं खीरोदगेणं णिव्वावेह . णिव्वावेंति, तए ण से सक्के देविंदे देवरायाभगवओतित्थ-गरस्स उवरिल्लं दाहिणं सकहं गेण्हइ, ईसाणे . उवरिल्लं वामं सकहं गेण्हइ, चमरे असुरिंदे . हिट्ठिल्लं दाहिणं सकहं गेण्हइ, बली...हिट्ठिल्लं वामं...अवसेसा...देवा जहारिह अवसेसाइं अंगमंगाइं केई जिणभत्तीए केई जीअमेअंति कट्टु केइ धम्मोत्तिकट्टु गेण्हंति, तए णं से सक्के.. वयासी...सव्वरयणामए महइमहालए तओ चेइअथूमे करेह, एग भगवओ तित्थगरस्स चिइगाए, एगं गणहरस्स एग अवसेसाणं अणगाराणं चिइगाए, ..करेंति...तए ण ते...देवा...परिणिव्वाणमहिमं करेंति.. करेत्ता तेणेव... विमाणाइं जेणेव साइं भवणाइं जेणेव सभाओ सुहम्माओ जेणेव सगा₂ चेइअखंभा तेणेव उवा-गच्छंति₂त्ता वइरामएसु गोलवट्टसमुग्गएसु जिणसकहाओ परिक्खिवंति₂ अग्गेहिं वरेहिं मल्लेहि अ गंधेहि अ अच्चेंति...। Also see, *Āvaśyaka Curṇi*, pp. 221-223.

tradition as well as in the Buddhist ones the cremation is done in such a way as to save the various bones,[1] the process is described in details in Buddhist works whereas the Jaina accounts only show that the right and left bones were taken by various gods, which means that the bones were not reduced to ashes.

We are told that in the centre of the Sudharmā-sabhā[2] was a big maṇi-pīṭhikā two yojanas in area and one yojana in height (bāhalla), on it was a *Caitya-stambha* called *Mānavaka*, 7½ yojanas high, ½ krośa in circumference, of six parts (*chakoḍie, saṭkoṭikaḥ, saḍvigrahikah* or six-cornered?). Leaving six krośas from above, and six from below, on the central 5½ krośas were gold and silver boards with pegs (*nāgadanta*) with hangers (sikkaka) attached to the latter. In these hangers were round boxes of vajra in which were preserved many bones of Jinas, which were worshipped by the various gods and goddesses On the Māṇavaka Caitya-Stambhas were placed asta-maṅgalas and umbrellas

The Ādipurāna describes another type of pillars known as the Mānastambha, in the first rampart of a Samavasaraṇa. At the base of these pillars on four sides were placed four golden images of Jinas The pillars were lofty and adorned with bells, fly-whisks etc[3] They were placed on triple platforms (*trimekhalā*) and on top were triple-umbrellas Being erected by Indra, they were also called *Indradhvajas* They are also described in the Tiloyapannatti which says that the Jina images were on top of the pillars.[4]

The practice of erecting pillars or votive columns is very old These *dhvajas* not only remind us of votive columns, one of whose early types was the wooden sthūnā of Vedic times, but also the Yūpa of Vedic sacrifices[5] The Besnagara Garuḍadhvaja is a famous example of a pillar in front of a shrine of Vāsudeva. Capitals of *tāla dhvajas* and *makara-dhvajas* of Śankarṣana and Pradyumna have also been recovered.[6] The Banyan tree capital from

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[1] For Buddhist accounts, see *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, and Barua, B M, *Bhārhut*, Vol III, pp 12 ff where he has compared Vedic traditions about cremation with Buddhist ones

[2] *Jivājivābhigama sūtra*, sū 138, pp 229 ff, also see *varnaka* from sū 137, p 225

[3] *Ādipurāna* of Jinasena, 22 92-102, pp 515-16 The name Mānastambha is explained as follows —

मानस्तम्भाम्महामानयोगात् त्रैलोक्यमाननात् ।
अन्वर्थसंज्ञया तज्ज्ञैर्मानस्तम्भा. प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ १०२ ॥

[4] *Tiloyapannatti*, 4 779 ff

[5] Also see, Banerji, J N, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, 114 and note for sources.

[6] *Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1913-14*, pp 188-91, pls. LII-LIV, *for 1914-15*, Part I, p 21, pl XVI-c

Besnagar, discovered by Cunningham, was mounted on a pillar in front a shrine of Vaiśramaṇa-Kubera.[1] The same practice was adopted by the Jainas, at least in another way. The Āyagapaṭa dedicated by Siha Vāṇika (now in Lucknow Museum),[2] shows a pillar surmounted by a dharma-cakra and another surmounted by an elephant Several pedestals of sculptures from the Kankālī ṭīlā also show the worship of a Dharma-cakra mounted on a pillar.

Again, the Kahaon pillar with an inscription of the Gupta-age shows four Jinas on four sides at top, and one at its base [3] Such figures are usually enshrined in a square pavilion on top open on four sides. This practice remains popular even to this day amongst the Digambaras At Deogarh are certain pillars (fig 56) which show variations in this Mānastambha Sometimes, beside the four figures on top, four figures of minor deities—yakṣiṇīs and kṣetrapāla were added at base, while on top, sometimes a Ganadhara (or a big ācārya) was included in the group of Jinas An elaboration of the same conception is the famous Jaina Kīrttistambha at Chitor (fig 82)

Hemacandra ācārya, in his comm on Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi, I. 47-48, uses the word *dhvaja* for the lāñchanas of Tīrthankars while Āśādhara calls them heralds of families of the Jinas [4] In earlier texts such as the Kalpa sūtra we do not obtain any reference to lāñchanas, nor do we obtain them on pedestals of Tīrthankara images of the Kusâna age It is therefore not known whether the lāñchanas were known before the Gupta age. 'Dhvaja' may be a banner, a herald and the lāñchana of a Jina may signify the mark or symbol crowning his herald. The Garuḍa-dhvaja might have been the herald of Vāsudeva, erected on a pillar in front of a shrine of the deity Viewed in this light, it is not unlikely that in the Kuṣāṇa age there were such pillars or *dhvajas* in front of Jaina temples Such pillars were surmounted by the herald or the lāñchanas of the various Jinas As yet no such capitals or pillars have been discovered but the relief of such pillars in the Āyāgapata noted above suggest the possibility of their future discovery

Dr Coomaraswamy has drawn our attention to the reliefs of Amarāvatī (Elements of Buddhist Iconography, figures 4-10) where the Buddha is represented as a fiery pillar with wheel-marked feet below supported by a lotus, and with a triśūla 'head,' and has shown that "they represent the survival of a purely Vedic formula in which Agni is represented as the axis of the Universe, extending as a pillar between Earth and Heaven (cf. RV VI 16 13,

[1] Also see, Banerji, J N. *Op cit*, p 116 and note

[2] Coomaraswamy, A. K. *HIIA*, fig 71

[3] For Kahaon pillar, see, Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, 66-68

[4] See *Pratisthāsāroddhāra*, 4 214, p. 115

I 59 1-2, IV 13 5, X 5 6 V. 29. 4)" [1] This worship of Agni as *skambha* (or a *sthūnā*) should, according to Dr Coomaraswamy, be regarded as the origin of later practice of erecting pillars dedicated to different deities and surmounted by their vāhanas (or dhvajas) or symbols like the Dharma-Cakra

But what is this *skambha* originally ? Is it Agni flaming high up and reaching the skies or an adoption and transformation by Vedic Aryans of the phallus worship, the phallus being originally simply understood as the creator and later also as supporter of the Universe ? Dr. Coomaraswamy writes 'The axis of the Universe is coincident also with the fiery Śiva-lingam set up, according to the Devadāruvana legend, in the foundations of the Earth and Extending upwards to Heavens " [2]

To revert to stūpa-worship in Jainism A stūpa of the Jina Munisuvrata existed at Vesālā (Vaiśālī) according to the Āvaśyaka Cūrni, which gives the story of the 'Thubha' in illustrations of Pārināmikī Buddhi The Āvaśyaka Niryukti merely gives the catch word 'Thubha' which shows that the author of the Niryukti knew of the stūpa of Munisuvrata at Vaiśālī [3]

The pedestal of a Jina image referring to Arhat Nandyāvarta, obtained from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā was installed in the Devanirmita Stūpa according to the inscription on it dated in year 49 or 79 [4] According to Jinaprabha sūri,[5] there was a Stūpa of Supārsvanātha at Mathurā, made of gold and jewels, erected by a goddess (devanirmita) in one night, during a controversy with other sects regarding its ownership the goddess Kuberā is said to have guarded it and helped the Jainas Later a king of Mathurā wanted to take away the gold, whereupon, the goddess became angry and wrought earthquakes and was pacified only when all the inhabitants of Mathurā agreed to carve a figure of a Jina on their door-lintels. Once Pārśvanātha came to Mathurā and preached the doctrine After his departure, the goddess told the inhabitants and the King that bad times were approaching and that she would not live to protect the stūpa for ever in its uncovered condition The priceless stūpa should therefore

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[1] *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, pp 10 f

[2] *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, p 66 He also refers to F D K Bosch, "*Het Linga-Heiligdom van Dinaja*," Tijdschr. K. Bat Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschapen, LXIV 1924 Compare the conception of Jyotirlingas One such linga with flames exists in the Bhārat-kalā-Bhavan, Banaras.

[3] *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, vv 949-51, *Haribhadra's Vṛtti*, p 437, *Āvaśyaka Cūrni*, p. 567

[4] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol II, Jaina Inscriptions from Mathurā inscr. no 20.

[5] *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa* (Singhi Series), pp. 17-18.

be covered under a super-structure of bricks. She also asked them to install in front a stone sculpture of Pārśvanātha. This was done.

Digambara texts like the Bṛhat-Kathā-Kośa of Hariṣena (932 A D.) give a story of the origin of Five Stūpas at Mathurā,[1] all built by gods during a controversy with the Buddhists. Somadeva in his Yaśastilaka-campū also gives a similar account and refers to only one Devanirmita Stūpa at Mathurā[2] As noted by Dr Upadhye, Rājamalla (V S. 1632) in his Jambūsvāmicaritra refers to the repair of Mathurā stūpas[3] Now a Pañca stūpānvaya or Pañca-stūpanikāya is connected with the locality of Mathurā and Jinasena, the author of Jayadhavalā says that he belonged to this lineage[4]

The Pahārpur Copper plate, dated in the year 159 (478 A D) refers to Pañcastūpa-nikāya[5] It is therefore certain that in and around Mathurā, five Jaina stūpas existed, one of them, the oldest and the most famous, formed the subject of the legends of the Devanirmita stūpa As shown above it was called Devanirmita in an inscription of at least the second century A D (167 A D), according to the generally accepted calculations of the dates of these inscriptions Haribhadra sūri, in his vṛtti on the Āvaśyaka Niryukti, also called it Devanirmita But neither the inscription nor Haribhadra nor any Digambara tradition specifies it as a stūpa of Supārśvanātha It is only Jinaprabha in the fourtteenth century who speaks of its having been a stūpa of Supārśvanātha And when he says that Pārśvanātha was installed in front of the brick-superstructure (which actually must have been the original structure), it is not unreasonable to believe that the original Mathurā stūpa was a brick-stūpa dedicated to the memory of Pārśvanātha who flourished 250 years before the Nirvāna of Mahāvīra, *i e*, in c 777 B C A stūpa erected in this age would naturally be *devanirmita* to people of the Kusāna age when the age or object of its erection were forgotten But another explanation may be ventured in the light of the Śatapatha Brāhmana passage about Daiva and Āsurya smaśānas or funeral mounds, the first being square and Aryan, the second, round and non-Āryan.

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[1] *Bṛhat-Kathā-Kośa*, ed by Dr A N Upadhye (Singhi Series), story no 12, pp 22-27

[2] *Yaśastilaka Campū*, Ok VI secs. 17, 18, Vol II p 315, also see Handiqui, K K., *Yaśastilaka Campū and Indian Culture*, pp 415 ff.

[3] *Bṛhat-Kathā-Kosa*, notes, p 379 Dr Upadhye quotes the following verse from Rājamalla .—क्वचित्पंच क्वचिच्चाष्टौ क्वचिद्दश ततः परम् । क्वचित् विंशतिरेव स्यात् स्तूपाना च यथायथम् ॥

[4] See Introduction to *Harivamśa* of Jinasena by Pandit Nathuram Premi, in *Harivamśa, Vol. I*, pp. 20 ff.

[5] *History of Bengal*, I. p 410

A third explanation is also possible. Aśoka is said to have employed 'yakṣa' artists, according to Tārānātha who speaks of Nāga and Deva art as well. The art of the Mathurā Stūpa was here said to have been the work of what was supposed to be 'Deva-school.'

Jinapratha sūri further says that here Jinabhadra gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa (c. 540-600 A D) saved the manuscript of Mahāniśītha sūtra (from destruction), *i.e.*, he recovered the text and saved it from oblivion. When the stūpa fell in ruins, at the instance of Bappabhaṭṭi sūri (c 826 V S.—770 A.D), it was covered with a superstructure having figures of Ambikā, Kṣetrapāla and Cillaniyā (?).

The Devanirmita Stūpa at Mathurā is thus one of the earliest known stūpas in India and should be assigned to the eighth century B.C , especially because the title given to it is in accord with the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa tradition.[1]

The Sirkap stūpa with the motif of the double-headed eagle has been regarded as a Jaina stūpa on the analogy of the arched niches in the stūpa relief of the Mathurā Āyāgapata dedicated by Lonaśobhikā[2] Marshall associated the Sirkapa stūpa with Jainism only because he could not connect it with Buddhism, but the total absence of any Jaina antiquity in the site recovered hitherto, need not be overlooked Jaina tradition never speaks of a stūpa at Taxila, they only say that Bāhubali established here the worship of the Dharmacakra. We should therefore await further discoveries before calling it a Jaina stūpa. It may incidentally be noted that the Tablet of Loṇaśobhikā illustrated the type of a Jaina stūpa structure.

If Jinaprabha's account of the repairs by Bappabhaṭṭi is correct, then, the present writer feels that the stūpa at Kankālī Ṭīlā is not likely to be the site of the Devanirmita stūpa as it is not likely that even a few sculptures of Bappabhaṭṭi's age could not survive at the site, and because Jinaprabha's account does not refer to any repairs in the Kuṣāṇa age. He seems to have believed that the brick-structure was not covered with stones before Bappabhaṭṭi's age

[1] *Āvaśyaka Vṛtti*, p 454 on Niryukti gāthā 1012 Also cf. *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāsya*, VI 6275 and comm , also Vol. V 5824.

[1] Though spoken of as a description of the original appearance of the stūpa, Jinaprabha's description of it is of its last appearance, the talk about of gold and jewels is however poetic '—तओ तीए देवीए कणयघडिओ रयणखचिओ अणेगसुरपरिवरिओ तोरणज्झयमालालंकिओ सिहरोवरि छत्तत्तयसाली..... मेहलातिगसंठिओ । इक्किकाए मेहलाए चाउद्दिसं पंचवण्णरयणमयाइं बिंबाइं । तत्थमूलपडिमा सिरिसुपाससामिणो पइट्ठिआ । Then it was covered with bricks with an image of Pārśva in front. *Op. cit.*, pp. 17-18.

[2] *A Guide to Taxila*, pl XIII, p. 88. Smith, *JS*. pl. XII.

3. CAITYA—VṚKṢAS

Existence of tree-worship in the Indus Valley Civilization is evidenced by representations on several seals and sealings. One of them shows a triśūla-horned deity with long hair, standing nude between two branches of a tree and a kneeling figure of a worshipper also with long hair armlets and horns, behind whom is a composite animal The leaves of the tree appear like those of the *Pippala.*[1] One of the seals from Chanhu Daro also depicts the *Pippal Tree.*[2] "Some sealings from Harappā show trees enclosed by a wall or railing. It cannot at present be stated definitely whether tree worship pertained to trees in their natural state or to their indwelling spirits."[3]

Trees have been highly prized in India, at all times. They were useful in sacrifices for making the Yūpa (post for tying the sacrificial animal) for *idhma* (*samidha* offered in fire) and for sacrificial instruments like *sruva, juhu* etc The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (I. 1.3) speaks of seven holy trees The Taittirīya Saṃhitā (III 4 8.4) states that *idhma* should be of *nyagrodha, udumbara, aśvattha* and *plakṣa* trees as they are the abodes of Gandharvas, Apsarasas etc The Baudhāyana (II 3 25) holds the *palāśa* tree so sacred that it prohibits its use for making seats, sandals, tooth-brushes etc. Patañjali quotes an ancient verse to the effect that if a person waters and tends mango-trees, his forefathers are pleased[4]

The Ṛgveda describes that it is under a tree with beautiful foliage that Yama drinks with the Gods and ancestors[5] In the Ṛgvedic Āpri Sūktas, Vanaspatis are invoked[6] A full sūkta, occurring with a little change in both RV. and AV. is addressed to Vanaspati in order to get the upperhand of one's co-wife[7] There are not a few sūktas in the AV. devoted to Osadhis or Vanaspatis The Krishna Yajurveda Saṃhitā prescribes an animal sacrifice to plants to remove obstacles in the attainment of offsprings[8] Osadhis are called

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[1] *Vedic Age*, p. 188 and pl. no VII 8 reproduced from Marshall, Mohenjo-Daro. Also see Marshall, *op cit*, I. p 312

[2] Mazumdar, N G, *Explorations of Sindh*, Pl. XVII no. 34.

[3] *Vedic Age*, op. cit.

[4] *Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. I, p. 14, also see *Mahābhārata*, anuśāsana parva, 58.

[5] *Rgveda*, X. 131 1.

[6] *Rgveda*, I. 13. 11, I. 142. 11, I. 188. 10, II 3. 10, III. 4 10, V. 5. 10; VII. 2. 10, IX. 5. 10, X. 70. 10.

[7] *RV*. X. 145, *AV*. III. 18.

[8] *V.M.*, 154, *T.S.*, II. i. 5. 3.

'mothers' and 'goddesses,' and are invoked chiefly with waters and mountains.[1]

"*Caitya-vṛkṣas* are mentioned in the Atharva-Veda Pariṣiṣta LXXI, large trees are sometimes addressed as deities, they are connected with human fertility, and nymphs inhabiting them are asked to be propitious to passing wedding processions "[2]

Souls or spirits were supposed to dwell in trees, to haunt them and were looked upon as gods[3]. Offerings are made to these trees-spirits, even human sacrifices are offered They were consulted as oracles, expected to give sons and wealth, and were pleased when garlands are hung upon the branches and lamps lighted on all sides, and 'bali'—offerings made at the foot of the trees[4]. Manu refers to 'bali'—offerings to the tree spirits.[5] Both Manu and Yājña-valkya ask a snātaka to circumambulate, on his way, sacred trees like the Aśvattha etc.

The Mahābhārata forbids even the falling of the leaves of trees that are known as Caityas Mm. Kane here interprets Caitya as "trees like the Aśvattha that have a platform (*caitya*) built for them[6]. The Aśvattha was already a sacred tree in the Indus Valley civilization [7]

Dr. Coomaraswamy cites a case, where, in explaining the Suciloma Sutta of Samyutta Nikāya, II.5, a stone dias, throne or platform (*tankite mañco*) is stated to have been Yakkha's haunt (*bhavanam*)[8] The Mahā-bhārata in the passage noted above, uses the world Caitya in the sense of a

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[1] *V M*, 154, *RV* X. 97 4 = *YV*. XII 78 = *TS* iv. 2 6. I.— ओषधीरिति मातरस्तद्वो देवीरुप ब्रुवे ।

[2] Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, p. 41.

[3] *Chāndogya Upanisad*, VI. 11 *Jātaka*, IV, p. 154

[4] *Jātaka*, V. pp 472, 474, 488, Jat, IV, 210, 353, III 23, IV 153. For the horrid and hideous practices connected with tree-worship, as evidenced from the *Jātakas*, see Mehta, Ratilal, *Pre-Buddhist India*, pp 326 f

[5] *Manusmṛti*, 3 88 also see Vrddha-Gautama, Jivānanda's collection, Part 2, p 625 Kane, *History of Dharma-sāstra*, II 2, p. 895

[6] *Mahābhārata*, Śāntiparva 69 42 (चैत्यानां सर्वथा त्याज्यपि पत्रस्य पातनम्); Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II 2 p 895 The aśvattha is already represented in the Indus Valley on a faience seal with animal heads attached to the stem Coomaraswamy *HIIA* fig 6.

[7] Dr Coomaraswamy writes: The Bodhidruma (nyagrodha of most Buddhist texts, akṣaya vata of the Epic, but pippala or aśvattha of the reliefs) was certainly a sacred tree, haunted by a Devatā, before the Bodhisattva took his seat beneath it ..*Ibid.*, p 47

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 47 n. 4. Also see, Odettee Viennot, *loc., cit*, pl. VIII. fig. D.

Caitya-tree, which has been a sacred-tree, on account of a stone dais or platform built round it, for worship of some spirits or gods, who were supposed to have been associated with such trees. As suggested by Dr. Coomaraswamy, "most of the Yakkhacetiya referred to in Buddhist and Jaina literature may have been sacred trees[1]. In this connection a very definite evidence is obtained from the Vasudevahiṇḍi of Saṁghadāsa gaṇi Vācaka, assignable to a period not later than the fifth century A.D., and probably dating from c. 350-450 A.D According to this text, there was an udyāna called Manorama in Sāṅggāma in the Magadha Janapada Therein was the Jakkha Sumaṇo, whose stone-plaque or platform (sılā = śilā) was placed there under an aśoka tree, the silā was known as Sumaṇā. There the people worshipped this Yakṣa[2] A certain person, Satya by name, is further said to have spent a night in meditation in this area of the Sumanasilā, standing in the kāyotsarga pose, in order to propitiate the Yakṣa It seems that silā is here used in the sense of a plaque or a relief deposited under the aśoka tree, on a platform (*silā paesa* of Vasudevahiṇḍi, p 88) where Satya could stand in meditation before the śilā of the Yakṣa.

The description of the Pūrṇabhadra Caitya[3] is the stock description of a Caitya for all Jaina canons, here, according to Dr Coomaraswamy, is a development of a Yakṣa-Caitya, the original simple worship under a tree takes the form of some building[4] But this Caitya was in the midst of a vanakhaṇḍa (forest-grove) in the centre of which was a big Aśoka tree round which were many other trees, all with various types of creepers (*latā*) entwined on them. The description that follows is noteworthy :—

तस्स णं असोगवरपायवस्स उवरिं बहवे अट्ठ अट्ठ मङ्गलगा पण्णत्ता त जहा—सोत्थिय, सिरिवच्छ, नन्दियावत्त वद्धमाणग, भद्दासण, कलस, मच्छ, दप्पण सव्वरयणामया अच्छा सण्हा लण्हा घट्ठा मट्ठा णीरया निम्मला..अभिरूवा पडिरूवा.

तस्स णं असोगवरपायवस्स उवरिं बहवे किण्हचामरज्झया...अच्छा सण्हा लण्हा रुप्पपट्टा वइरामयदण्डा जालयामलगन्धिया सुरम्मा पासादिया दरिसणिज्जा अभिरूवा पडिरूवा...तस्स णं असोगवरपायवस्स उवरिं बहवे छत्ताइछत्ता पडागाइपडागा घण्टाजुयला चामरजुयला उप्पलजुयला उप्पलहत्थगा पउमहत्थगा कुमुयहत्थगा णलिणहत्थगा सुहगहत्थगा सोगन्धियहत्थगा सव्वरयणामया अच्छा जाव पडिरूवा[5]...

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

[2] तत्थ सुमणो नाम जक्खो तस्स असोगपायवसंसिया सिला सुमणा तत्थ णं जणा पूयंति। *Vasudevahindi*, p. 85, also see p. 88.

[3] *Aupapātika Sūtra*, sūtras, 2-5.

[4] Dr. Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, p 47.

[5] The portion is not printed in the text of the Aupapātika sūtra, sū. 4 but indicated by the use of जाव and noted by Abhayadeva in his commentary,

The passage, noted by Abhayadeva in his commentary as an additional description from some manuscripts, shows that the tree itself was decorated with the eight auspicious symbols (*asta-mangala*) with flags and banners of different colours, (Cf. HIIA fig 70) bells, fly-whisks and bunches (*hatthaga*)[1] or various flowers, clearly showing that the tree itself was regarded as sacred and adorned. The next description is even more noteworthy —

'तस्स ण असोगवरपायवस्स हेट्ठा ईसिं खंधसमल्लीणे एत्थ णं एके पुढविसिलापट्टए पण्णत्ते, विक्खभायामउस्सेहसुप्पमाणे किण्हे अजणघणकिवाणकुवलयहलधरकोसेज्जागासकेसकज्जलंगीखंजणसिंगभेदरिट्ठयजंबुफलअसणकसणबंधणणीलुप्पलपत्तनिकरअतसिकुसुमप्पगासे मरकतमसारकलित्तणयणकीयरासिवण्णे णिद्धघणे अट्ठसिरे आयंसयतलोवमे सुरम्मे ईहामियउसभतुरगनरमगरविहगवालगकिण्णररुरुसरभचमरकुंजरवणलयपउमलयभत्तिचित्ते आईणगरूयबूरणवणीततूलफरिसे सीहासणसंठिए पासादीए दरिसणिज्जे अभिरूवे पडिरूवे ॥ (sūtra 5)

The commentator notes another reading (*vācanāntara*) of the *Śilāpatta-varnaka*, rendered in Sanskrit—अञ्जनकघनकुवलयहलधरकौशेयकसदृश, आकाशकेशकज्जलकर्केतनेन्द्रनीलातसीकुसुमप्रकाश, भृङ्गाञ्जनशृङ्गभेदरिष्टकनीलगुलिकागवलातिरेकभ्रमरनिकुरम्बभूत, जम्बूफलासनकुसुमबन्धननीलोत्पलपत्रनिकरमरकताशासकनयनकीकाराशिवर्ण स्निग्धघन, रूपकप्रतिरूपदर्शनीय मुक्ताजालखचितान्तकर्म... ।[2]

Below the best Aśoka tree was a big Pṛthvī-śilā-paṭṭaka, well proportioned in height, breadth and thickness slightly reclining against the stem of the tree (*īsim khandhasamallīne*)[3] It was black like collirium, etc and dark blue like Nīlotpala, and shining, eight-sided (*attha-sire*), smooth, compact, and polished or shining (reflecting) like the surface of a mirror (*āyamsatalovame*), beautiful and decorated with carvings (*bhatticitta*) or *īhāmṛga* (*vṛkah* according to Abhayadeva), bull, horse, nara-makara (*kāla makara* motif), bird, serpents (*vālaga*), kinnaras, deer, sarabha, yak, elephant, wild creepers and lotus, creepers and was soft to the touch like garment of an animal-hide (*ājinaka*), butter, cotton etc Placed on a simhāsana, it was beautiful to look at

as—इहलतावर्णकान्तरमशोकवर्णक पुस्तकान्तरे इदमधिकमधीयते—p 9 Also see *Rāyapasenaiyam* (Becaradas ed), pp. 19 20

[1] Hatthaga would mean mark of the palm But here the word is used either in the sense of marks of the different flowers (stamped with some pastes) or bunches which could be carried in hands

[2] Aupapātika sūtra (Āgamodaya Samiti ed), pp 10-11.

[3] Interpretation of this is important, Abhayadeva, in his comm (p 10) renders it as मनाक् स्कन्धासन्न It is difficult to say whether this Pṛthvīśilāpatta was ever regarded as a platform with a part of the tree's stem embedded in it, surely this patta rested on a platform, slightly reclining against the stem of the tree, since it is said to rest on a simhāsana (*sihāsanasamthie*).

Abhayadeva interprets sīhāsaṇasaṃṭhie as simhāsanākārao which is obviously wrong.[1] He, however, notes on the basis of another vācanā that its borders were inlaid with pearls (*muktājāla-khacitāntakarmā*)[2]

It is therefore certain that the śilāpaṭṭa was placed under a tree, reclining a little (*isim*) against its stem, and deposited on a simhāsana obviously because it was an object of worship. The carvings described above were decorative, in the centre might have been the figure of a yakṣa or any spirit or of a symbol, commentators are silent regarding the meaning of Pṛthvī-śilāpaṭṭa What does Pṛthvī signify here? Was it a terracotta patta? or was it a stone plaque dedicated to the Mother-goddess Pṛthvī? An easier interpretation is however possible so far as the position of the Patta is concerned. It rested on a simhāsana, not vertically but horizontally, (either slightly raised at the end near the tree, or with its one end probably thrust into the stem by scraping the latter's surface, which was possibly the meaning conveyed by *isim khandhasamallīṇa* It gave stability to the patta placed on a dias or a simhāsana, the interpretation further obtains confirmation from the representation of Bodhi-tree shrine at Bhārhut[3] If then, the paṭṭa, was placed horizontally, it becomes a spot for laying offerings to the spirit or the tree Nay, it also became the pītha for a representation of a spirit or of a symbol as can be inferred from the relief of the Dhamma-cakka shrine, also from Bhārhut[4]

It is in this sense that the Vasudevahindi speaks of sumana śilā of Sumana Yaksa under an aśoka tree The Yaksa figure was placed on this pītha or platform[5] It is also possible to infer a stage in which the object of worship was carved in relief on the surface of the śilā itself and offerings placed on it Surely the Pṛthvī-Śilāpatta is the precursor of the Jaina Āyāgapatas obtained from the Kankālī Ṭīlā, most of which are now assigned to the first century B C.

Originally possibly a Caitya tree or a sacred tree, was simply enclosed in a railing as can be seen from representations on a Jaina Āyāgapata from Kankālī Ṭīlā, Mathura[6] (fig 11) and from such representations at Bhārhut and

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[1] *Aupapātika*, (Āgamodaya Samiti ed), sūtra 5, comm on pp 10 11.

[2] Especially see, Barua, B. M, *Book of Bhārhut*, Vol III Fig 32

[3] Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, Figs 41, 46 and 51 Also, Barua, *Book of Bhārhut*, III Figs 26, 28, 30, 31

[4] Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, fig 41

[5] The practice of collecting stones and symbols of divinity is an ancient custom, many of the village gods and goddesses are upto this date placed under trees which shall in the worship paid to the godlings underneath See the *Age of Imperial Unity*, p 474

[6] See the section on Āyāgapaṭas Also see, *Le culte De L'Arbre Dans L'Inde Ancienne*, par Odette Viennot (Paris, 1954), pl. XII, figs. B,C I have

Sāñcī. The simple practice observed also on Harappā sealings, continued even after the beginning of the Christian era, but at some early period, a stage was also evolved in which, below the trees these platforms and objects of worship were placed. This stage came in much earlier than the age of Bhārhut and must have existed even before that of Mahāvīra who stayed in the yakṣāyatana described above. Fig 67 is an interesting relief, of Śuṅga age, from Mathura, showing a huge Śiva-linga under a tree, both enclosed in a railing.

The description of the Aśoka tree in the Aupapātika is remarkable for two reasons. Firstly, because we get here a stage in Yakṣa-worship to which the Caitya-vṛkṣas are intimately allied. Here possibly the tree itself with the Śilā-paṭṭa under it is the Yakṣāyatana as in the case of Suciloma Jātaka (Saṃyutta Nikāya, 11-5) where a *tankite mañco* is stated to be the Yakkha's haunt (*bhavanam*) In that case the Aśoka tree itself, the Caitya-vṛkṣa, is the Caitya of Pūrṇabhadra in our passage. It seems that the carving of, a figure (of the yakṣa) on the Śilā-paṭṭa or of installing a sculpture of the deity was a later stage,[1] but it must be remembered that even this stage might have existed in the age of Mahāvīra if the shrine of Moggarapāṇi yakṣa at Rājagṛha referred to in the Jaina Canon, can be regarded as dating from the age of Mahāvīra. Since the Pūrṇabhadra shrine was already *cirātīta* in the age of Mahāvīra, the interpretation offered above is not incompatible.

The second noteworthy fact about this passage is its description of the Śilā-paṭṭa, a critical study of which supports the views stated above. This is possibly the first known literary evidence of what is well known as the Mauryan Polish if the Śilā-paṭṭa is regarded as a stone-plaque, and of the N B. P. ware if the Pṛthvī-Śilā-Paṭta is regarded as a terracotta-plaque (Pṛthvī-clay, and Śilā-Patta being a *rūdha* word for such votive slabs) I am not inclined to take it as a stone-plaque dedicated to the Mother-Goddess Pṛthvī for the simple reason that the passage must refer to the worship of the yakṣa Pūrṇabhadra rather than to that of the Mother-goddess. The plaque was highly polished, shining like a mirror and the surface was soft to touch like cotton or butter It was besides painted and inlaid with pearls.

It is now well known that the so called Northern Block Polished Ware is obtained in different colours and not only in black. Our text seems to speak of at least three colours, black, bluish and green for though the paṭṭa is called kṛṣṇa, the upamas given include those of the nīlotpala and the marakata

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not utilised the evidence of this work in these lectures delivered before the work could be available But the work is an important contribution on the Cult of the Tree in ancient India

[1] cf. Odette Viennot, *Le Culte De L'Arbre Dans L'Inde Ancienne*, pl VIII Fig. D, from Amarāvatī Stūpa.

stone. The final editors of the text in the fifth century A.D. could not fully understand the older text as by that time the original specimens were lost and the editors were possibly confused. The plaque had either paintings or reliefs of animals, creepers etc. That it was a polished plaque, shining and reflecting like a mirror, is further suggested by the *vācanāntara* which calls it *rūpaka-pratirūpa-darśanīya.*

Recent excavations at Kuśāmbī and Vaiśālī has shown that this beautiful polished ware was, available in different colours and sometimes painted also. The centre of this technique, or place of its origin is not known, but it seems that it was Magadha Excavations at Kauśāmbī have shown the existence of this polished ware in pre-Mauryan layers, just below the foundations of the Ghoṣitārāma, and hence we have little hesitation in holding that the Jaina *varnaka* of the Pṛthvī Śilāpaṭṭa and the Purṇabhadra Ceitya is based upon genuine ancient traditions referring to an age antedating Mahāvīra. The description of the Aśoka tree is based on a very early tradition having its analogy in the reliefs at Bhārhut. A still lower circular or square open platform all round the tree, should have existed, for the worshippers to stand on, or sit in meditation or circumambulate round the tree as is suggested by fig 32 of Barua's Bharhut Vol III

Another stage in the worship of a Caitya tree can be easily imagined in the erection of a pīṭha with śilāpaṭṭa[1] on each of the four sides of a tree. This served as the fundamental conception of the early Caitya, open on four sides, Caturmukha shrine This inference is confirmed by the elaborate account of Caitya-vṛkṣas in the Samavasaraṇa of Ādinātha described by Jinasena in his Ādipurāṇa. They are called Caitya-vṛkṣas, because at their roots are placed on four sides, four images (caityas) of the Jinas [2]

The Caitya-trees of the Bhavanavāsī gods are described in a similar way

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[1] Cf *Le culte De L'Arbre Dans L'Inde Ancienne,* Pl XII figs. A, E, F, Pl. XIII, figs. A, B, C, D, Pl. XIV, fig A

[2] *Ādipurāṇa,* 22 184-204, Vol. I, pp. 524-27 —

ध्वजांशुकपरामृष्टानिर्मेघघनपद्धतिः ॥ १६३ ॥
××मूर्धा छत्रत्रय बिभ्रन्मुक्तालम्बनभूषितम् ।
विभोस्त्रिभुवनैश्वर्यं विना वाचेव दर्शयन् ॥ १६४ ॥
भेजिरे बुध्नभागेऽस्य प्रतिमा दिक्चतुष्टये ।
जिनेश्वराणामिन्द्राद्यैः समवाप्ताभिषेचनाः ॥ १६५ ॥
×× चैत्याधिष्ठितबुध्नत्वादूढतन्नामरूढय. ।
शाखिनोऽमी विभान्ति स्म सुरेन्द्रैः प्राप्तपूजनाः ॥ २०१ ॥

by the Tiloyapaṇṇatti.[1] It confirms the belief that at some stage elaborate lower platforms were erected all round the tree, a practice which is seen even to-day in Indian towns and villages.

Before proceeding to the examination of Jaina lists of Caitya-vṛkṣas and the conception behind them, it must be remembered that this tree-worship, popular in ancient times, noticed in the Vedas, formed an important part of the religious beliefs and practices of the masses with whom the Buddha or the Jina was mainly concerned in his opposition to the Vedic priestly class and its rituals. The spirits dwelling in the trees were Nāgas, Yakṣas or Gandharvas etc.,[2] easily approachable without the help of complex sacrificial details It is such Caityas, with udyānas having Caitya-trees in them, that Mahāvīra is generally reported to have stayed in during his wanderings, before and after becoming a Tīrthankara, obviously because firstly the area was accessible to all types of people and ascetics, secondly because it was the best place for propagation of one's school of thought. People used to sit in worship under such trees[3] and in such moments Buddha and Mahāvīra obtained Enlightenment. Rhys Davids notes, "while in all the oldest accounts of Gotama's attainment of Buddha hood there is no mention of the tree under which he was sitting at the time, yet already in a Suttanta it is incidentally mentioned that this event took place under a Pippala tree" This practice of meditating under trees, is what Buddha seems to have appealed to, as suggested by Rhy Davids, when at the end of some earnest dialogue he used to close it with an appeal · "Here are the trees. Think this matter out"[4] Thus the belief that Buddha obtained enlightenment under a Pippala tree, or that Mahāvīra obtained it under a Śāla tree may be based on facts, and when lists of other Buddhas or

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1 cf.—छद्दोभूमुहरुंदा चउजोयणाउच्छिदाणि पीढाणि ।
पीढोवरिबहुमज्झे रम्मा चेट्ठन्ति चेत्तदुमा ॥ ३३ ॥
××छत्तादिछत्तजुत्ता घंटाजालादिरमणिज्जा ॥ ३६ ॥
आदिणिहणेण हीणा पुढविमया सव्वभवणचेत्तदुमा ।
जीवुप्पत्तिलयाण होंति निमित्ताणि ते णियमा ॥ ३७ ॥
चेत्ततरूणं मूले पत्तेक्कं चउदिसासु पंचेव ।
चेट्ठंति जिणप्पडिमा पलियंकठिया सुरेहिं महणिज्जा ॥ ३८ ॥
चउतोरणाभिरामा अट्ठमहामंगलेहि सोहिल्ला ।
वररयणणिम्मिदेहिं माणत्थम्भेहि अइरम्मा ॥ ३९ ॥
—*Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 3. 33-39, Vol. I, p 115.

2 See also, Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p 232.

3 Cf. *Bhagavatī sūtra*, 3.2, sū. 144 which describes Mahāvīra as meditating under a tree on a Pṛthviśilāpaṭṭa.

4 *Buddhist India*, pp. 230-31.

Tirthaṅkaras grew, their Caitya-trees were also recorded by both the sects.

But since the Buddha was not represented in human form in early Buddhist worship, the Bodhi-tree attained greater importance in Buddhist art, while the Jainas were more or less satisfied only with recording of the list of Caitya-trees of different Jinas and by giving them only secondary importance in art The Caitya-tree, possibly on account of its age-long existence as an object of worship, had to be introduced on a relief sculpture of a Jina, by showing its foliage above his head The introduction of the Caitya-tree was especially due to the possible appeal it made to the masses with whom worship of trees was so popular. The Jainas as well as the Buddhists gave a new meaning to the Tree-Worship They were the trees under which their leaders obtained Enlightenment,[1] and were worshipped or represented on this account, and not because particular spirits or godlings were associated with them It helped them to override the Tree-cult and along with it the cults of Nāgas, Yaksas, Bhūtas, Gandharvas and others The Jina-image was placed under a tree and worshipped With the growth of shrines, the practice died out amongst the Jainas That the Caitya tree was given importance due to Tree-cult of the masses is best illustrated from a type of Tīrthankara images from the South where the Jina sits under a big tree, his figure seated on a pītha and almost all other prātihāryas either eliminated or very much subdued (cf fig. 72 from Kalugumalai Tinnevelley district Also cf fig. 73 from Pañcāsara temple, Patan, N. Gujarat and fig 75 from a Jaina shrine, Surat)

Viewed in this light, the cosmographical accounts of both the Jaina sects, describing Caitya vṛkṣas in the palaces of different gods, would be regarded as reminiscent of the earlier forms of Jaina worship It may incidentally be noted that these gods, Saudharmendra and others are similarly reported to be worshipping the bones of the Jinas, placed in dimond-boxes on high positions This fact also is a record of the earlier stage of Jaina worship,

The earliest reference to the Caitya tree of Mahāvīra is perhaps the account of Mahāvīra's life in the Ācārānga sūtra, book II[2] which is regarded as later in age than the book I The Kalpa sūtra which speaks of all the twenty-four Tīrthankaras, but gives details of lives of only four—Rṣabha, Mahāvira, Pārsva and Nemi—and only mentions the age of others, does not note the Caitya trees of these remaining twenty Jinas The Samavāyānga sūtra which, though it incorporates much earlier material, is a later compilation, it gives lists

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[1] cf यत्रे जिना घातिचतुष्टयस्य सत्केवलज्ञानमवाप्नुवन्ति ।
अधस्तरोर्यस्य स चैत्यवृक्षनाम्ना प्रसिद्धो जिनशासनेऽत्र ॥
An old verse, quoted by Caturvijaya in *Ekavimśatisthānaka-prakarana*, comm pp 28 ff.

[2] *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, SBE, Vol XXII p. 201.

of Tirthankaras of Past, Present and Future, as also of Tirthankaras of Airavata kṣetra, and also records a list of Caitya-trees of all the twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras of this age in the Bharata kṣetra.[1] The list being common to both the Jaina sects was evolved at least before the Digambara-Śvetāmbara partition regarding acknowledgement of canons and whatever difference is visible in the Tiloyapaṇṇatti list is only due to some early error of scribes.[2] A list of Caitya-trees of the various Jinas is appended at the end of this discussion With the evolution of lāñchanas or recognising symbols for the Tirthankaras, Caitya-trees have lost much of their value in identifying sculptures of Tirthaṅkaras. Jain Purānas generally give identical lists for the trees under which these Jinas took their *dikṣās*

It seems that the Jainas have assigned the spirits connected with this ancient tree-worship to the class of Vyantara gods The Vyantaras are subdivided into eight groups—Piśācas, Bhūtas, Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Kinnaras, Kimpurusas, Mahoragas (Nāgas) and Gandharvas Each group has on its crest the symbol of a tree in the following order —Kadamba, Sulasa, Vata, Khatvāṅga, Aśoka, Campaka, Nāga and the Tumburu tree, according to the Śvetāmbara traditions The Digambara lists replace the Khatvāṅga (of Rākṣasas) for the Badarī tree[3] Khaṭvānga alone in the Śve list is not a tree, and it seems that the Digambaras were more faithful in recording this tradition or possibly, the Rāksasas were originally not tree spirits.

The Sthānāṅga[4] gives the Caitya tree worshipped by each of the ten classes of Bhavanvāsi gods, a different list is supplied by the Tiloyapannatti[5]. This only signifies the association of Caitya-tree or tree-cult with the area of Jaina shrines

Ambikā Yakṣī, the first Śāsanadevatā introduced in Jaina worship, sits under a mango-tree which is reminiscent of the early association of Yaksa-worship with the tree-cult Sometimes older ideas wonderfully persist or are revived even at a very late age, and it may be said that even the most ancient superstitions or cults do not totally die away In the mediaeval period, in

[1] *Samvāyānga sūtra*, sa, 159, p 152, also *Jīvājīvābhigama sūtra*, sū 127, p 225 and sū 142, p 251 for Caitya trees

[2] Ramacandran's table is unfortunately incorrect Ramacandran, *op cit*, pp 192 ff For Digambara lists, see *Pratisthāsāroddhāra*, 4 106, p 101, *Tiloyapannatti*, 4-916-918, Vol I, p. 264.

[3] For lists of both traditions with sources, see Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, pp 273ff

[4] *Sthānānga sūtra*, 10 3 sūtra 766, Vol II p 487. The commentator says that these were worshipped near the Siddhāyatanas.

[5] *Tiloyapannatti*, 3 136, Vol. I, p 128

Eastern India, we have a few reliefs of Ganeśa standing or dancing under the spread arch of a mango-tree[1]. Ganeśa's original connections with Yakṣa worship are well-known and this is reminiscent of it. All attempts to obtain literary evidence for this association of Ganeśa with mango tree have so far failed.

Along with the conception of Caitya-trees may be noted the conceptions of Tree of Life and the Wish-Fulfilling Trees (*Kalpa-druma*) in Brahmanical and Buddhist texts[2] The Jaina texts also speak of ten *Kalpa-drumas* These are described in details in the Jambudvīpaprajñapti[3] Hemacandra in his Triṣaṣṭi-śalākāpurusa Caritra (I 1 vv 226-37) describes the ten kinds of Kalpa trees in the Uttarakurus as follows —"The ten kinds of wishing trees, Madyaṅgas, etc, always give to the people whatever they desire without effort on their part Among these, the *Madyangas* give wine, the *Bhrngas* dishes, the *Tūryangas* choice musical instruments......The *Dīpaśikhās* and *Jyotiskas* give a wonderful light, the *Citrāngas* furnish wreaths, and the *Citrarasas* in turn food *Manyangas* furnish ornaments, the *Gehākāras* houses, and the *Anangas* various kinds of divine apparel "[4]

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[1] For illustrations see, Banerji, R D, *Eastern School of Mediaeval Indian Sculpture*, and *History of Bengal*, Vol I

[2] Esp see, Coomaraswamy, *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*

[3] *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti*, 20 p. 99 ff See also *Pravacana-sāroddhāra*, 1067-70, p 314, *Harivamśa* of Jinasena, Vol. I, pp. 146-147

[4] *Trisastiśalākāpurusacaritra*, Vol I (G.O. Series), transl by H. Johnson, pp. 29-30.

Caitya-Trees.

No	Tīrthankara	Śvetāmbara	Digambara
1	Ṛsabhanātha	Nyagrodha	same
2	Ajitanātha	Saptaparna	"
3	Sambnavanātha	Śala (Shorea Robusta)	"
4	Abhinandana	Piyaka or Priyaka	Sarala
5	Sumatinātha	Priyangu (Panicum italicum)	same
6	Padmaprabha	Chaturābha (Anethum sowa)	Priyangu
7	Supārśvanatha	Śirīsa (Acacin sirisha)	same
8	Candraprabha	Nāga	same
9	Puṣpadanta (Suvidhi)	Mali	Aksa
10	Śītalanātha	Pilankhu	Dhūli
11	Śreyāmsanātha	Tinduga	Palāśa
12	Vāsupujya	Pāṭala (Bignomia suaveolens)	Tenduva
13	Vimalanātha	Jambū (Engenia jambolana)	Pātala-Jambū
14	Anantanātha	Aśvattha	Same
15	Dharmanātha	Dadhiparna	"
16	Śāntinātha	Nandi (Cedrela toong)	"
17	Kunthunātha	Tilaka	"
18	Aranātha	Āmra-	"
19	Mallinātha	Aśoka	"
20	Munisuvrata	Campaka (Michelia Champaka)	"
21	Naminātha	Bakula (Mimusops elengi)	"
22	Neminātha	Vetasa	Mesaśrnga
23	Pārśvanātha	Dhātaki (Grislea to tomentosa)	Dhava
24	Mahāvīra	Śāla	Same

4. ĀYĀGAPAṬAS

Āyāgapaṭas or Tablets of Homage, mainly obtained from different sites at Mathurā offer an interesting study. Most of these Āyāgapaṭas are assignable to the later phase of the Śunga art and some of them belong to the period of transition to the Kuṣāna art The significance and use of these tablets of homage is discussed along with Caitya trees Here a short account of each of them will be given.

Tablet I —Gift of an inhabitant of Mathurā (Fig 14)

The Āyāgapaṭa (No J 248, Lucknow Museum, size 2′-10″ sq), set by an inhabitant of Mathurā[1] according to the partly preserved inscription at its lower rim, though partly mutilated from the right corner, is a beautiful specimen of art assignable to c. 100-50 B C, obtained from the Kankālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā. It shows in the centre, a sixteen-spoked wheel enclosed in another circle with band of *tilaka-ratnas* inside This circle is followed by a bigger circle made up of eight ladies represented like flying-gandharvas, and carrying flowers The broad band or rim of this big circle is made up of a twisted rope interspersed with rosettes. This Wheel is supported by Suparna dwarfs, half human, represented in the four corners of the square which encloses the Big Wheel. The four sides of this square have broad borders or panels, with svastika on the left upper and right lower corners, and another composite symbol made of four *tilakaratnas*, with the circular base common to each The fourth end of the pata is lost Below, on the lower border is an inverted *tilakaratna* in the centre having on two sides half human mythical flying animals, one male and the other female A corresponding panel existed on each side with similar animals, in the centre of the panel on the left end is seen the Śrīvatsa symbol.

Certainly the Wheel cannot represent the Jaina Conception of Time with six *ārās* of Utsarpinī and six more of the Avasarpinī, since our wheel has sixteen spokes The only alternative left is to regard it as the *Dharmacakra*, or Wheel of Law

Tablet II Set up by the Wife of Śivaghosaka. (Fig 12)

This tablet is badly defaced on the right lower and upper ends, but the carving is easily understood In the middle of this square tablet (J 253

[1] Smith, *Jaina Stūpa*, Pl VIII, p. 15, Agrawala, *Guide to Lucknow Museum*, p. 4, Buhler, *Ep Ind.* II, pp 200, 313. *Namo Arahato Mahāvirasa Māthuraka Lavaḍasa (sa) bhāyāye va......taye (āyāgapaṭo)*

Lucknow Museum, size 3′ - 1″ × 2′ - 10″ from Mathurā)[1] is a big circle having four tilaka-ratnas facing each of the four sides and arranged in a composite way, with the lower circle, common to each of them. This lower half of the tilaka-ratna being a circle, is utilised for the representation of a Jina in the centre, with a naked monk (a gaṇadhara) standing on each side The Jina sits on a raised dias, probably in the arddha-padmāsana, and in dhyāna mudrā. He is protected by a seven-headed cobra over his head, above the snake-hoods is an umbrella with tassels of garlands issuing out of it The Jina probably represents Pārśvanātha attended by two naked gaṇadharas. The padma-latā in the broad band of the bigger circle and the wine-creeper on the right lower end of the square tablet may be noted The right lower corner of the tablet shows a symbol (mahāpuṇḍarīka ?), the left lower shows a lion sitting on his legs, the left upper shows an elephant and the right upper corner shows two winged mythical lions The characters of the inscription on the lower border of the paṭa, partly peeled off, are engraved, according to Smith, in "an archaic type prior to the Kusāṇa era." Set up by one Śivaghoṣaka, the tablet should be regarded as a specimen of the Śuṅga art, assignable to the first half of the first century B C

Tablet III, of Ārayavatī set up by Āmohinī (Fig 14 A)

This fine votive tablet, set up by Āmohinī in the year 42 or 72 of the reign of Mahākṣatrapa Śodāsa, is, as Smith has shown, "essentially an Ayāgapaṭa, though not so called," but expressly said to have been meant "for the worship of the Arhata" (Arahatapūjāye) like the other Āyagāpatas The inscription[2] on the top of the sculpture begins with an adoration to

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[1] Smith, *Jaina Stūpa*, Pl X, p 17, *Ep Ind*, II No 31 The inscription is read as *Namo Arahantana Śivagho (saka) sa bhāri (ya)—na—*

[2] Smith, *Jaina Stupa* pl XIV p 21, Agrawal, *Guide to Lucknow Museum*, p 14, fig 1 Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, pl 74, Ep Ind. II, p 199

Year 42nd of Śodāsa would, according to the chronology adopted in the Age of Imperial Unity, be 27 A D, which would not suit the style Luders reads 72 instead of 42, cf Ep Ind II No 2 Rapson, *The Date of Āmohini Votive Tablet of Mathurā*, Indian Studies in honour of Charcles Lannman, pp 49-52, reads 42

J E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw, "*The Scythian Period*," pp. 65-72, has discussed again the characters for 70 and 40 and shown that the tablet gives a date 72 According to her theory, which appears to be a plausible one, it is dated in the old Śaka era of 129 B C, which would give a date, 57 B C for this Tablet. She however offers a different explanation of Āryavatī-Āyapaṭa-Āyāgapata, *ibid*, p 147, which explanation, however, is not acceptable to us It must be remembered that the *āyavatī* occurs in l. 3 and *āryavatī* in l. 4,

Vardhamāna. The Āyavatī or (Āryavatī or Āryāvatī) set up by Āmohini, naturally refers to the Royal lady represented standing in bold relief in the centre (of the tablet), dressed elegantly and standing with the right hand held as if in the abhaya pose and with left one akimbo A male attendant to her right holds an umbrella over her head. A female attendant with a garland stands on the right near the much defaced pillar Between the Āryavatī and the umbrella bearer is a small figure of a boy (or a girl) with folded hands. On the left of the lady is a female waving the flywhisk Obviously, the figure represents a royal lady, (not a nun) and one who deserved adoration and worship. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that she is the mother of a Jina, probably of Vardhamāna, invoked in ths beginning of the inscription. The garlands hanging in the background remind one of such hanging from the Kalpa trees in the Bhārhut railings.

Tablet IV Set up by Śivayaśas. (Fig 7)

This is an interesting tablet, which, though mutilated gives a partial view of the Jaina Stūpa with the toraṇa gateway and railing round the circum-ambulatory passnge, reached by a flight of steps [1] The characters of the inscription below the railing are, according to Smith, "little more archaic than those of Dhanabhūti's inscriptions on the gateway of the Bhārhut stūpa, dated in the reign of the Śungas, or about 150 B C" They seem to de somewhat later, and Buhler, admitting that they are 'archaic' adds that they "belong to the period before Kaniska" The tablet may be roughly assigned to the early first century B C

Tablet V Set up by Sihanādika (Fig. 13)

A Jina sits in padmāsana, dhyāna mudrā, with a chhatra above head, in the central circle of the four composite tilaka-ratnas (same as tri-ratnas of Buddhist terminology). The upper-most panel of the tablet shows, in the central section, a pair of fish, a heavenly car, a Śrīvatsa mark and a powder-box In the corresponding part of the panel at the lower end are shown, a tilakaratna, a full blown lotus, a symbol which Dr. Agrawal recognises as Indrayaṣṭi or Vaijayantī and a mangala-kalaśa (auspicious vase) These eight symbols are the oldest known representations of the aṣṭamaṅgalas of Jaina traditions.[2]

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which shows that this āyavati (āyāgapaṭa) was installed and that it was a Tablet of (representing) Āryavatī

[1] The Stūpa is discussed separately under the section of Stūpa-worship. Also see, Smith, *Jaina Stūpa*, pl. XII, pp. 3 and 19, Buhler, *Ep Ind.* IV, p. 196.

[2] Agrawala, *Guide to Lucknow Museum*, p. 2, fig 5. and his हर्षचरित, p. 120 Smith, *Jaina Stūpa*, pl. VII, p. 14.

This Āyagapata (J 249, Lucknow Museum, size 2′ × 1′ - 11¾) is assignable to a period not later than 1 A D, and is noteworthy for the typical pillars in the Persian-Achemenian style surmounted by the Dharma-cakra and the elephant capitals

Tablet VI. Set up by Śivamitrā.

This tablet is noteworthy for its inscription which shows that it was set up by Śivamitrā of Kauśika family, wife of Gotiputra (Gautamīputra), a black serpent to the Pothayas and Śakas According to Smith, the inscription is incised in " archaic characters, apparently anterior to the Kuṣāna period. "[1]

The tablet is recovered in only a fragment which shows the leg of the crossed-stand of the type of object shown in the row of auspicious objects on the tablet of Sīhanādika discussed above The object looks like a representation of sthāpanācārya, or sthāpanā, and is identified as Indrayasti or Vaijayanti by Dr Agrawal It also had a pair of fishes of which one is still visible.

This further confirms the inference drawn here that the āyāgapatas generally represented one or more of the Jaina (eight) auspicious object or symbols

The tablet is very important in another way According to the Pañca-Kalpa-Bhāsya and Pañca-Kalpa-Cūrni (both in mss), a Sātavāhana king asked a question to the famous Kālakācārya (well versed in Nimittaśāstra) about Mathurā He asked when Mathurā will fall or whether it will fall or not This tablet speaks of a Gautamīputra defeating Śakas and Pothayas Was he the Sātavāhana who put the question ?[2]—especially when we find his queen setting up a tablet at Mathurā and describing Gotiputra as a " Black Serpent to the Śakas etc "

Tablet VII Set up by Lonaśobhikā (Fig 14B)

This tablet of homage Q 2, Mathurā Museum, (2′ - 4″ × 1′ - 9¾″) is especially noteworthy as it is carved with a complete Stūpa, reached by a flight of steps, and flanked by two pillars in the Persepolitan style[3] According

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[1] Smith, *op cit*, pl XIII, p 20, *Ep Ind*, I op. cit., inscr no 33 The Pothayas, mentioned along with the Śakas, is interesting Probably it is a corrupt prakrit for the Parthians

[2] And was he the Vikrama who defeated the Śakas and started the era of 57 B C ?

[3] Agrawala, *Catalogue of the Mathurā Museum*, *JUPHS*, Vol. XXIII, Pts. 1-2, pp 69 ff Smith, *Jaina Stūpa*, pl CIII p 61, Smith, *History of Fine Art*, (2nd ed), p 40, pl 15 B, Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, pl. 19, p 72, Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathura*, p 93, pl. V b; Bachhofer, *op cit*, Vol. I, p. 58, Vol. II. pl. 91

to the new reading [1] of Dr. Agrawal it was set up by Vasu, the daughter of a courtesan Loṇaśobhikā, who also erected a shrine of the Arhats, a hall of homage (āyāgasabhā), a cistern, (and) a stone-slab (*Śilāpaṭo*) at the sanctuary of the Nirgrantha Arhats." The inscription now throws new light in as much as the slab is called a "*Śilā paṭo*" Śilāpaṭa is also mentioned in the stock-description of a caitya obtained in the Aupapātika-sūtra. One would naturally be tempted to identify the 'Śilā-paṭa' of the Jaina texts with the Āyāga-paṭa of some of the inscriptions. All such paṭas are dedicated with a common expression "Arhata-pūjaye" (Dr. Agrawala's translation of "arhata-pūjaye" as "in honour of the Arhats" is better than of the older ones) and the tablet under discussion, set up by Vasu, though called a "Śilā-paṭa" is obviously also an āyāgapaṭa. The paṭa is assignable to the Kusāṇa period both from the evidence of the script and from the art of the carvings.[2]

Tablet VIII. Set up by an unknown donor. (Fig. 11)

The tablet[3] is noteworthy for the following reason Tablet I is meant for the worship of the Dharma-cakra, Tablet II for that of the tri-ratna (jñāna-darśana-cāritra, the fundamentals of the Jaina religious practice, or the teaching of the Jina shown in the centre), Tablets VII and IV are for the worship of the Stūpa. This Tablet (J. 250 Lucknow Museum, size 3′ × 2′-8″) is possibly for the worship of the eight auspicious symbols, suggested by a big ornamental svastika, enclosed in a big circle, and with a small svastika, a Śrīvatsa, a pair of fish, and a bhadrāsana (or Indrayaṣṭi?) shown in its four arms. In the centre of the big svastika, is another circle, a miniature of the main circle of Tablet II, showing the Jina and the tri-ratnas The circle round the big svastika shows male and female worshippers of the figures of a Jina, a Caitya-tree enclosed in a square railing, a stūpa and another object (badly damaged) represented on four sides in the rim of the circle [4] The pedestal of

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[1] The inscription, as read by Dr. Agrawala, *JUPHS*, XXIII pp 69-70, is —

1 Namo Ārahato Vardhamānasa Ārāye gaṇikā—
2 ye Loṇaśobhikāye dhitu śamanasāvikāye
3 Nādāye gaṇikāye Vasu (ye) Ārahāto devik(u)la
4 āyāga-sabhā prapā Sil (ā) paṭo patiṣṭhāpito Nigathā—
5 nām Arahatāyatane sa(hā)m(ā)tare bhaginiye dhitare putrena
6 sarvena ca parijanena Arahata pūjāye

[2] Smith and Codrington, *History of Fine Art*, p 40. It is more likely that this pata dates from a period between 1 and 78 A.D.

[3] Smith, *Jaina Stūpa*, pl IX. p 16. The inscription on this tablet is highly defaced. Also see *Ep. Ind* II. pl. I b, pp 311-313.

[4] Of all the Āyāgapaṭas this is the most important one as it represents in one plaque all the fundamentals of Jaina worship of this age. Its latest date would be c. 1 A.D.

the paṭa shows in the centre a highly defaced inscription and partly defaced eight auspicious symbols, out of which the water-jar, the lotus, the tri-ratna the śrīvatsa, and the svastika can be recognised easily.

Tablet IX Set up by the wife of Bhadranandi. (Fig. 10)

This tablet (J. 252, Lucknow Museum, Size 2'-7" × 2'-3¼") set up by Acalā (according to Bühler, Agota, according to Smith)[1] may be compared with Tablet No II set up by Śivaghoṣaka discussed above The theme of a central Jina, in the circle of the composite four tri-ratnas is common to both. The panel at the bottom showed all the eight auspicious symbols (the one on the right end being partly mutilated) The pillar on each end of the Tablets is noteworthy. The inscription[2] is carved in characters of the Kuṣāṇa period

A few more fragments of such Āyāgapaṭas are preserved in the Curzon Museum, Mathurā, one of which (No 1603 of the Museum) shows a Stūpa in the central medallion. Another fragment (No 2313), with an inscription on the reverse reading *Śilāpato Arahata-pu......*, shows, on the observe, Aśoka-foliage which suggests that this was meant for the worship of the Caitya tree.[3] The expression "Śilāpaṭo" used for the Tablet (āyāgapaṭa) is noteworthy

The above analysis has helped us to find out a chief characteristic of the worship of the Āyāgapatas Just as each icon represents a particular deity, (*e g* one or the other of the twenty-four Jinas), each Āyāgapata, too, represents one particular object venerated by the Jainas, namely, the stūpa, the dharma-cakra, the tri-ratna, the astamangalas[4] (one would also expect a Tablet

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[1] Smith, *Jaina Stūpa*, pl XI, p 18, Buhler, *Ep Ind.* Vol. II, no. 32 p 207 Agrawala, *Guide to Lucknow Museum*

[2] The inscription reads —

1 *Namo Arahantānam (mala) nasa dhilu*
Bhadrayaśasa vadhuye Bhadranadisa bhayāye

2 *A(calā)ye ā(yā)gapato pratithāpito Arahatapujāye*

[3] Agrawala, *Catalogue of the Mathurā Museum*, JUPHS XXIII, p 71, Fragments Nos 569, 1603, 2313, 2563

Another new fragment (No 3496) is described by K D Bajpai, JUPHS, XXI, (1948) pls 1-2, pp 117 ff Fig 1. For an Āyāgapaṭa from Kosam, discussed by Banerji, R D, *A S I*, see, *A R.*, 1913-14, pp. 262 ff, pl. LXX

[4] In my paper on *Varddhamāna Vidyā-Pata* Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Arts, Vol IX (1941), I suggested that Balipaṭṭas referred to by Hemacandra correspond to the earlier Āyāgapaṭas Hemacandra, describing a Samavasarana writes "The arches were adorned with flags and white umbrellas *and eight auspicious symbols below, looked like those on offering slabs* (Bali-paṭṭas)" Triṣasti, I. 3 42239

with a big *Mangala-Kalaśa*, like Tablet VIII showing the *Svastika*), the Caitya-Vṛkṣa, as also the Mother of the Jina, and the Jina himself. This worship of Śilāpaṭas was extended to monks of repute as can be seen from a Tablet representing a monk Kaṇha Samaṇa, illustrated by Smith, Jaina Stūpa, Pl. XVII. no. 2[1].

According to the Aupapātika[2], Śilā-paṭas are placed on a simhāsana, under the shade of the Aśoka-tree in the garden (vana-khaṇḍa) of a Caitya. They are beautiful in appearance with representations of wolves, bulls, horses, nara-makaras (half-human crocodiles), birds, kinnaras rurus and of creepers like the vanalatā, padma-latā etc They are (sometimes) of an octagonal shape Abhayadeva Sūri, the commentator, notes a Sanskrit-version of another reading of this text, in which it is said that the paṭṭa is beautiful to look at on account of its rūpaka (images, designs, relief- representations) and prati-rūpaka (?) and shining with an ornamental net-work of pearls attached on all sides [3] With the help of Dr Agrawala's reading of the inscription on the Tablet set up by Vasu, if the Āyāgapata is identified with a Śilāpata, then, we must accept—and it appears more probable—that these Tablets of Homage were probably not meant for the interior of a shrine (i e the sanctum) but were assigned a special position under a Caitya-tree as is suggested by reliefs from Bhārhut. Worship of Trees being very old, it is but natural to suppose that worship of some sort of Tablets—representations, clay models etc, under Caitya-trees was an ancient practice which, when adopted by the Jainas, took the form of worship of the beautiful Āyāgapatas. That these Ayāgapatas are the Śilāpaṭas of Jaina canons is further confirmed by the fragment of a Tablet No 2313 in the Mathurā Mussum

It is interesting to note that Inscr No 18 of Buhler, *New Jaina Inscriptions from Mathurā*, *Ep Ind* Vol I, p 390, speaks of a Śilā-patta installed in a spot sacred to the Dadhikarna-Nāga, which shows that the practice of installing such Śilāpaṭṭas was not confined to the Jainas alone, and had its origin in the ancient Yaksha-Nāga Cult. The "Aryaka" or 'Ayaka' patas from the Buddhist sites of Amarāvati and Nāgarjunikonḍa can now be regarded as derived (like the Jaina Āyāgapaṭas) from the ancient Śilāpaṭas.

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[1] Also see, Jaina *Siddhānta Bhāskara*, Vol. VIII. No 2. pp 64-65 paper on Arddha-phālaka-sampradāya by Śrī K. P. Jaina. This Tablet is dated in the year 95, *Ep. Ind.* I, no. 22

[2] See *Aupapātika sūtra*, sūtra 5, quoted above on p. 81.

[3] *Aupapātika sūtra*, pp. 10-11, see the description of Śilāpatta cited in the discussion on Caitya-vṛkṣas. The description of the Pūrṇabhadra Caitya and the Śilāpaṭṭa with the high polish is genuine and old and refers at least to the age of Mahāvīra. cf. Shah, U.P , *So-called Mauryan Polish in Jaina Literature*, Journal of the M. S. University of Baroda, June 1955.

It may also be noted that the Tablet No. VII (Q. 2 of Mathurā Museum) installed by Vasu, also speaks of an āyāgasabhā. The exact meaning of this āyāga-sabhā in Jaina shrines cannot be made out but it may be inferred that it corresponds to the later Pauṣadhaśālās where a person enters upon a fast of three or more meals, and sits in meditation in order to practise certain *tapa* or propitiate a deity. The Āyāgapaṭas, evolved from the earlier conception of Śilāpaṭas, may also have been worshipped in such an āyāga-sabhā (or Pauṣadhaśālā) in place of a Sthāpanā used to-day. This does not contradict the interpretation that they were placed as Śilāpaṭṭas under the Caitya-trees For, in the same inscription (on the tablet of Vasu), the tablet is called a Śilāpaṭṭa.

Our analysis has further shown that the history of Jaina finds at Mathurā dates from at least the Second Century B. C, and does not merely begin with the Kuṣāṇa age [1] It has also shown that cultural evidence in the Jaina canons requires a fresh critical study.

[1] Cf.—Buhler, *Further Jaina Inscriptions from Mathurā* (New series), *Ep Ind*, Vol II, p 198

5. SAMAVASARAṆA

Samavasaraṇa [1] literally means assemblage and refers to the Preaching-Hall of a Jina, constructed by gods, where gods, men and animals assemble and take their apportioned seats to hear the sermon which a Tīrthankara delivers immediately after enlightenment. [2] The belief is common to both the sects, the Śvetāmbaras describe it as the work of Vyantara gods at the bidding of Indra, while the Digambaras say that Indra himself was the architect (who of course erected it with the help of his attendant gods).

It is a special structure, usually an elaborate circular theatre with fortifications, for beings to sit in and listen to the discourse. The Samavasaraṇa, primarily described as constructed for the first discourse of every Jina, is sometimes understood to have been prepared for other sermons also, or when a powerful god pays his visit to a Jina, he erects a similar special structure [3]

Detailed descriptions of such Assembly-Halls are obtained in the Jaina Purāṇas of both the sects, typical elaborate examples of which are available in the Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita (parva I) of Hemacandra, [4] in the Śvetāmbara tradition, and the Mahāpurāna of Jinasena in the Digambara tradition [5]

The Kalpa-sūtra does not refer to the Samavasaraṇa or the festival

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[1] First discussed by Bhandarkar, D R *Jaina Iconography*, Indian Antiquary, Vol XL (1911), pp. 125-130, 153-161 Also, Ramacandran, T. N, *Tiruparuttikunram and its temples*, pp. 105 ff.

[2] Explained by Dhanapāla as समवसरण सुरकृतं तीर्थकृता धर्मदेशनास्थानम् in his comm on Śobhana, *Stuticaturviṁśatikā*, verse 94.

[3] Cf A samavasaraṇa was erected when Mahāvīra visited the Vipulagiri at Rājagṛha, *Padmacarita*, 2.102 ff pp 17-18. *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, gāthās 540 and 544.

[4] *Triṣaṣṭi*, (text), parva I, (ed. of Caraṇavijaya) sarga 3, vv. 422 ff, transl, GOS Vol LI, pp 190 ff and 334 ff.

[5] *Mahāpurāna* (Ādipurāṇa), 22 76-312, pp. 515-538 Amongst other sources of both the sects, see, *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, pp. 324 ff; *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, pp. 341, 345, *Āvaśyaka-vṛtti* of Haribhadra, pp 229 ff., *Padmacarita* of Raviṣena, pp. 17 ff. 58 ff, *Harivaṁśa* of Jinasena, 17 ff, 652 ff, *Samavasarana-stava*, with avacūri of Dharmaghoṣa, discussed by Dr. Bhandarkar, *op cit*, *Samavasarana-racanā-kalpa* of Jinaprabha in *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, pp 87-88, *Samavasarana-stotra* of Viṣnusena (date uncertain), published in *Siddhāntasārādi-samgraha* (M. D. J Series, Bombay, No. 21,), pp. 133-139.

celebrated by gods at the time of the Kevalajñāna of Mahāvīra [1] But the Āvaśyaka-Niryukti does describe it [2] It may be noted that not a single representation of the Samavasarana is known from the Āyāgapaṭas from Mathurā The elaborate conception of the samavasaraṇa, if at all it existed in the Kuṣāṇa age, has to be inferred from representations like the mutilated Toraṇa-arch from Mathurā,[3] (now in the Lucknow Museum), fig 16 showing gods and men going to worship a Jina The term samavasarana, for such an elaborate conception, seems to have originated from texts like the Aupapātika, sūtra 10, where Mahāvīra is said to have arrived at Pūrṇabhadra Caitya near Campā, with a view to hold a congregation (*samosarium kāme*)[4]

According to Hemachandra,[5] when Rsabha obtained Kevalajñāna, Indra ordained the Vyantara gods to erect a Samavasaraṇa. The Vāyukumāras first cleaned the ground for one Yojana,[6] the Meghakumāras then sprinkled it with fragrant water, the Vānavyantaras showered flowers on it The Vyantara gods covered the surface of the earth with shining mosaics of gold and jewels and, in four directions, they created arches (*torana*) of jewels, rubies and gold, having on their tops tall puppets (*Śālabhañjikā*) with reflecting surfaces. Makara-ornaments of glistening sapphire shone on the arches, giving the impression of banners abondoned by the dying Makaraketu (Cupid)[7] The arches were adorned with flags and white umbrellas above and the eight auspicious symbols (*aṣṭamangalas*—svastika, etc) below looked like those on offering-slabs (*Balipattas*).

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[1] *Kalpa-sūtra*, sūtras 120 121, Jacobi's transl SBE, p 263 Brown says that it is implied in KS 120-121, see p 38 of his *Miniature Paintings of the Jain Kalpa Sutra*.

[2] *Āvaśyaka-Niryukti*, gāthās 539-569, *Āvaśyaka-Vṛtti* of Haribhadra, pp 229-235,

[3] Smith and Codrington, *History of Fine Arts* In India And Ceylon, pl. 21, Bühler, *Ep Ind*, Vol II, pp 319 ff. pl III

[4] *Aupapātika*, sū 10, p 39, cf —'उवागए चंपं नगरीं पुरणभद्दं चेइअ समोसरिउं कामे'

[5] Summarised from *Trisasti*, *op cit* For comparison I have quoted the Niryukti gāthās at some places

[6] A Jaina Yojana=8 miles approx, See Johnson, *Trisasti*, parva 1, pp. 192, ff n 452

[7] Cf '—मणिकणगरयणचित्तं भूमीभागं समन्तओ सुरभिं ।
आजोअणन्तरेणं करेन्ति देवा विचित्तं तु ॥ ५४५ ॥
वेण्टट्ठाइं सुरभिं जलथलयं दिव्वकुसुमणीहारीं ।
पइरंति समन्तेणं दसद्धवरणं कुसुमवासं ॥ ५४६ ॥
मणिकणगरयणचित्ते चउद्दिसिं तोरणे विउव्वन्ति ।
सच्छत्तसालभंजियमयरद्धयचिंधसंठाणे ॥ ५४७ ॥

Āvaśyaka Niryukti, in *Āvaśyaka Vṛtti*, pp. 230-31.

The Vimānavāsī gods made the upper-most rampart of jewels (*ratna*) with battlements (*kapiśīrṣa*) of various gems. In the middle part, the Jyotiṣka-gods made a rampart (*vapra*) of gold with battlements of jewels on it. The third and the outermost fortification-wall, constructed by the Bhavanapati-gods, was made of silver and decorated on top with extensive battlements or coping stones of golden lotuses.[1]

Each of these walls or ramparts had four ornamental gateways (*gopura*). At each gate, jars of incense were set by the Vyantara gods.[2] Besides, at each gate, they made a tank (*vāpī*) with golden lotuses and having four gates like the rampart of the samavasaraṇa.

To the north-east, inside the second wall, they made a dais (*devacchanda*) for the Master to rest on. On both sides of the east-gate of the first rampart stood two gold-coloured Vaimānika gods, as door-keepers At its south-gate at the sides stood white Vyantara gods, at the west-gate two Jyotiṣka gods of red colour, and at the north gate two Bhavanādhipatis black like clouds, stood as doorkeepers At the four gates of the second wall[3], in the same order, beginning with the east, stood the goddesses Jayā, Vijayā, Ajitā and Aparājitā, each with one hand in the abhaya-mudrā and the other three hands carrying the noose, the goad and the hammer. On the last rampart at each gate, stood a Tumburu as door-keeper, carrying a skull-crowned club (*khatvānga*) having a garland of human skulls, and adorned with a coronet of matted hair [4]

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[1] Cf :—तिन्नि य पागारवरे रयणविचित्ते तहि सुरगणिंदा ।
मणिकंचणकविसीसगविभूसिए ते विउव्वेंति ॥ ५४८ ॥
अब्भन्तर मज्झ बहिं विमाणजोइभवणाहिवकया उ ।
पागारा तिन्नि भवे रयणे कणगे य रायए य ॥ ५४९ ॥

Āvaśyaka Niryukti, *op cit*, p. 231.

[2] Cf —मणिरयणहेमयाविय कविसीसा सव्वरयणिया दारा ।
सव्वरयणमया च्चिय पडागधयतोरणविचित्ता ॥ ५५० ॥
तत्तो य समंतेणं कालागरुकुन्दुरुक्कमीसेण ।
गंधेण मणहरेण धूवघडीओ विउव्वेंति ॥ ५५१ ॥

Ibid, p. 231.

[3] The distance between any two walls, as laid down by Jinaprabha, *op. cit.*, is one gavyūta and 600 dhanus 1 gavyūta = 4 miles, 1 dhanus = 4 hastas or cubits The thickness of a wall = 33 cubits, heights 500 cubits. For a discussion on measurements, see Kapadia, H. R., *Stuti-Caturviṃśatikā* of Śobhana, (Guj. edition) and *avacūri* on *Samavasaraṇa-stava* of Dharmaghoṣa.

[4] The *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, and the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* do not refer to the door-keepers.

In the midst of the Samavasaraṇa, a Caitya-tree was made by the Vyantaras, rising 3 Kos,[1] beneath it a platform (*pīṭha*) with manifold jewels, on it they made a dais (*Chandaka*) of gems In the centre of it, to the east was placed a jewelled lion-throne with foot-stool Above the throne shone the white triple-umbrella, on both sides Yakṣas held two white fly-whisks. At the gate of the Samavasaraṇa, they placed, on a golden lotus, the *dharma-cakra* of remarkable light.[2]

Gods use nine lotuses in turn for the Master to walk on while reaching the congregation. Entering the Samavasaraṇa by the east-gate, the Jina makes pradakṣiṇā of the Caitya-tree and bowing to the congregation (*tīrtha*) takes his seat on the lion-throne. Vyantara gods make three life-like images of the Lord and place them in the other three directions so that everyone in the assembly finds himself facing the Lord[3] Behind the Jina appears the resplendent halo (*bhāmaṇḍala*), a drum is sounded in the skies (*devadundubhi*), and a jewelled banner blazes in front of the Lord.[4]

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[1] Kos = ¼ of a Yojana. Johnson, *op cit*, p 192, n. 452

[2] Cf :—उक्कुड्डिसीहणायं कलयलसद्देण सव्वओ सव्व ।
तित्थगरपायमूले करेंति देवा णिवयमाणा ॥ ५५२ ॥
चेइयदुमपेढछंदय आसणछत्तं च चामराओ य ।
ज च अन्नं करणिज्ज करेंति तं वाणमंतरिया ॥ ५५३ ॥

Āvaśyaka Niryukti, op cit., pp. 231-32.

According to later texts there is usually an Aśoka-tree, but the discussion of heights of Aśoka-trees in samavasaranas of different Jinas shows that Caitya-trees (trees of enlightenment) of different Jinas were there, above which was the Aśoka tree See, Dharmaghośa *op cit*

[3] Cf —सूरोदय पच्छिमाए ओगाहन्तीए पुव्वओऽईइ ।
दोहिं पउमेहिं पाया मग्गेण य होइ सत्तऽन्ने ॥ ५५५ ॥
आयाहिण पुव्वमुहो तिदिसिं पडिरूवगा उ देवकया ।
जेट्ठगणी अन्नो वा दाहिणपुव्वे अदूरंमि ॥ ५५६ ॥
जे ते देवेहिं कया तिदिसिं पडिरूवगा जिणवरस्स ।
तेसिं पि तप्पभावा तयाणुरूवं हवइ रूवं ॥ ५५७ ॥

Āvaśyaka Niryukti, op cit, pp 231-32.

[4] Jinaprabha and Dharmaghosa give measurements of the different parts of the Samavasarana, the unit for each such assembly being the hasta of the Jina for whom it is made. Since the heights of different Jinas are given in a descending order from 1st to the 24th Jina, the Samavasaraṇa becomes smaller with each succeeding Jina.

In the first rampart is the place for the sādhus and the sādhvīs. The Vaimānika women enter by the east-gate and take their seats between these two groups, in the south-east direction. Entering by the south-gate, the women of the Bhavanavāsī gods, Jyotiṣkas and Vyantaras stand in the south-west. Entering by the west-gate, the Bhavanapatis, Jyotiṣkas and Vyantaras stand in the west. Entering by the north-gate, the Kalpavāsī gods, men and women, stand successively in the north east. The animals stand inside the second wall and the animals used as conveyances in the third wall.[1]

According to Jinaprabha, 1000 steps lead from the ground to the outer rampart, 5000 more from the third to the second, and 5000 from second to the first (or the innermost) At each gate are erected flag-posts and jewelled arches, figures of eight auspicious marks are drawn, a full-vase (*kalas'a*) and garlands placed, small statues (*pāñcālikās*) and umbrellas decorate the gates. The samavasaraṇa may be either circular or square, if circular, there are two wells (vāpī) in each gate, if square, a well is provided in each corner [2]

A very interesting account of the Samavasaraṇa is however provided by Jinasena in his Mahāpurāṇa [3] Indra himself is the architect of the Samavasaraṇa, which is circular in plan with a diameter of twelve yojanas,[4] and made of *indra-nīla* (blue) gems. It was surrounded by a mud-wall (*dhūli-sāla*) of dust particles of various gems, which produced rain-bow effect with rays of different colours On four sides were *torana-dvārās* (arched gateways) of golden pillars shining with makara faces having jewel garlands hung on them.

Going a little inside the dhūlisāla, in the midst of roads (*vīthi*) were erected tall *Māna-stambhas* or pillars, made of gold, one in each direction. They stood on platforms (*pīthikā*) reached by a flight of 16 golden steps, and situated in the midst of a Jagatī (lit area or basement mouldings), purified by the ablution waters of the Jina, surrounded by three walls (*sāla*) and having four gates (*gopura*). Reaching the sky, the pillars, true to their name, curbed (stambha)

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[1] *Āv. Nir* verses 558-560 The details regarding entrance are first given by Bhāṣya verses 116-119 on above. See *Āv vṛtti*, pp. 232 234

[2] For Śve account, also see *Abhidhāna Rājendra*, Vol. VII. pp. 466 ff

[3] Ramachandran, *op cit.* p 105, has noted that similar accounts are also obtained in the Tamil epics Śrī-Purāna and the Merumandara Purāna (a Tamil classic by Vāmana, alias Malliṣena c. 14th Cent A. D., ed by Prin. A. Chakravarti, Madras) His description does not strictly follow Jinasena and seems to have mainly followed either or both the Tamil works *Tiloya-pannatti*, 4th adhikāra, vv. 717 ff, Vol 1. p. 212 ff. is another Digambara source giving such details.

[4] 24 aṅgulas (inches) = 1 hasta, 4 hastas = 1 dhanus, 2000 dhanus = 1 kros'a, 4 kros'a = 1 yojana—See Ramachandran *op. cit*, p. 106.-n. 1.

the pride (māna) of the infatuated or were so called on account of their measuring as it were of the three worlds (with their heights)[1] Adorned with flags and bells, they looked like quarter-elephants (dik gaja) At their bases were kept golden images of the Jinendra worshipped with waters of the Ksīra-sāgara, by the Indras. Accessories of worship, flowers etc., were lying over the pīthikās (platforms). Music and dancing continued incessantly before the statues of the Jina, by the side of these pillars. The pīthikās were in the centre of the *jagatī*, on these platforms were smaller platforms (pītha-) in three tiers (*trimekhalam*),[2] on whose tops the pillars stood, with beautiful bases and adorned with triple-umbrellas on tops. Being erected by Indras, they are also known as *Indradhvajas*.

Step-wells, four in each direction, filled with pure water and shining with lotuses grown in them adorned the area near these pillars Their flight of steps was made of gems and the embankments surface (*tatībhuvah*) made of crystals. Smaller kuṇḍas (pits-ponds) on their sides were meant for washing feet.

A little away from these vāpīs, was a moat filled with water, full of lotuses and encircling the samavasaraṇa area Inside of it was also a *latāvana* (creeper-grove) adorned with flowers, small trees and creepers, having also a *krīḍāparvata* (pleasure-hill), bowers of creepers, etc.

Going a little away from it (*parikhā moat*) was visible the first rampart (*prākāra-sāla*), made of gold, having its top studded with rows of pearls The fortification was at places adorned with (representations of) pairs of elephants, horses and tigers, at places with parrots, swans and peacocks, or with figures of human pairs On its inner and outer surfaces it was shining with reliefs of the Kalpa-latā (wish-fulfilling creepers), and was resplendant all over. On four directions it (sāla) was adorned with gatewayas (gopura) of silver with pinnacles (śikhara) made of the red padmarāga gems. Each gateway was adorned with 108 mangalas like the bhṛngāra, kalaśa, mirror etc, and 100 arches (torana) made beautiful with jewel ornaments Near each gateway were placed the nine *nidhis* (treasures) On each side of the highways starting from these gateways were situated two *nātya-śālās* (theatres) for enacting dramas and performance of dance and music Each theatre was divided into three compartments with shining walls and golden pillars Heavenly damsels continued dance and music on the stage (*ranga-bhūmi*)[3]

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[1] See, *Ādipurāna* of Jinasena, 22 93-102, vol I. pp. 515 ff

[2] Of a triangular shape, according to the explanation offered in the *Ādipurāna*, in the Hindi translation, *op cit*, pp 515 ff. See also the discussion on ' caitya, stūpa, stambha ' in the preceding pages

[3] This account mainly follows *Ādi-purāna*, parva 22, vol. I. pp. 514 ff.

At some distance inward from these theatres were placed on each side two big incense-burners (*dhūpa-ghaṭa*) issuing fragrant smoke. Still further were situated on the bye-ways, on the sides of the highroads, four forest-groves of Aśoka, Saptaparṇa, Campaka and Mango trees respectively with square or triangular step-wells (vāpī) inside where heavenly damsels take their bath. At some places were lotus-ponds, at others, *krīḍāmaṇḍapas* (pavilions used as pleasure-resorts) artificial hillocks, mansions (*harmya*), *prekṣā-gṛhas*,[1] *citra-śālās* (picture-galleries), *eka-śālās and dvi-śālās* (single-roomed or double-roomed buildings),[2] or big palaces (*mahā-prāsāda*). There were, again rivers with beautiful sandy-beeches, green lawns (*śādvala-bhūmi*) and so on. In the Aśoka-vana, there was in the centre, (a Caitya-tree) Aśoka-tree on a three-tiered golden platform (*trimekhalam pīṭham*) and encircled by three walls each with four gateways Near it were maṅgala-dravyas like the chatra, cāmara, bhṛṅgāra, kalaśa etc The Caitya tree was adorned with bells and festoons, having on top a triple-umbrella with pearl-festoons At its root were four images of the Jinendra worshipped by Indra and other gods, men and other beings Similarly the other three forests had saptaparna, the campaka and the mango tree respectively

At the ends of the forests were golden Vana-vedikās (dais or a shed—maṇḍapa—with seats) with tall gateways. On the gateways were hanging festoons (*jāla*) of bells, and wreaths (*ālambaka*) of pearls and flowers, ornaments and aṣṭamaṅgalas In front of the vedikās were golden flagstaffs erected on high jewel platforms (pīṭhikā). The banners (ketana or dhvaja) were of ten types according to the marks or symbols on them—garland, garment, peacock, figures lotus, swan, eagle, lion, bull, elephant and disc The description shows that figures of eagles, peacocks etc rested on the top of the staff.[3]

Beyond the flagstaffs, was situated a tall rampart made of silver with gateways of silver and followed by Nāṭyaśālās etc, described above, with forests of kalpa-trees In the midst of these trees were Siddhārtha-trees, having images of Siddhas placed on their bases Beyond the gopuras of these walls, was a big highway having on both sides rows of beautiful buildings erected by celestial artists Some had single rooms, some had double apartments, some had three while others had four (one inside the other), some had *Candraśālās* (terrace-rooms) or were adorned with *aṭṭālikās* (balconies) There were

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[1] Prekṣā-gṛahas are theatres etc.

[2] Also Eka-śālā = one-storeyed building.

[3] cf.—गरुत्मद्ध्वजदण्डाग्रास्वध्यासीना विनायकाः ।
रेजुः स्वैः पक्षविक्षेपैः लीलयेवाधिरोढुं खम् ॥ २२६ ॥
—*Mahāpurāṇa*, (*Ādipurāṇa*), p. 526.

besides, on these roads, *Kūṭāgāras*[1], *Sabhāgṛhas* (Town-halls), *Prekṣā-gṛhas* (theaters). In the Kūṭāgāras were beds for resting and excellent seats (furniture) where Devas, Gandharvas, Siddhas, Kinnaras, Vidyādharas, and Nāgakumāras used to sport, dance or sing.

In the centre of each of these highways (possibly four highways, crossing each other, from the four gates) were nine lofty *Stūpas* (domes) made of padmarāga gems, adorned on all sides with images of Siddhas and Arhats The festoons and garlands of jewels (ratna-toraṇamālikā) adorned the central portion (of the outer wall) of these domes which were surmounted by umbrellas, and decorated with flags and mangala objects Pious souls bathed the images installed here and worshipping, praising and circumambulating them, had their hearts filled with joy.

At some distance beyond these stūpas and the rows of mansions, was erected another rampart of the sphatika (crystal) gems Other details regarding gateways etc, being same as in the first rampart, need not be repeated On the gateways of the first ramparts, Vyantara gods stood as doorkeepers, on those of the second, the Bhavanavāsīs and of the third, the Kalpavāsī gods, holding mace and the like weapons In the last rampart, on the sides of the four highways there were smaller double walls, making a total of 16 such walls, extending upto to the main-central pītha On these walls was a *Śrī mandapa*,[2] one yojana in area, from which Yaksas scattered flowers over the audience in the Assembly On account of the supernatural powers of the Jina, all gods, men and animals could obtain sufficient accomodation in the Śrī-Mandapa, even though it was only a yojan in area In its centre was the first pīthikā of Vaidūrya gems, having on its sides sixteen flights of sixteen steps each. On these pīthikās were placed the aṣṭamangalas and yaksas stood with dharmacakras on their shoulders. On this was erected a second pithīkā of gold with banners in eight directions. The third pīṭha was made of various jewels, and of three tiers, with a dharmacakra, and a banner On this last pīṭha Kubera erected a *Gandhakuṭī* (pavilion) surpassing in beauty the heavenly vimānas, shining with numerous banners and pinnacles hanging pearl-festoons, and golden lattice-work In this Gandhakutī (600 dhanus long, equally broad and a little more than 600 dhanus in height) was placed a lion-throne made of various jewels extremely elegant in appearance, lustrous and surpassing in beauty the mount Meru On it sat the Lord on whom were scattered flowers by gods. Near the Lord was the Aśoka tree, and above him were the three white umbrellas On his sides stood 64 Yaksas waving flywhisks, behind him

[1] Halls or buildings where people could hide themselves—according to the explanation offered by commentators.

[2] Śrī-Maṇḍapa seems to be the same as Balānaka.

shone the resplendent *bhāmaṇḍala* (halo). In the sky rose the sound of celestial drums beaten by gods.

Descriptions in traditions of both the sects agree in broad outline, viz., a central pavilion for the Jina, placed on a big platform, and surrounded by three different fortifications each having four archways in four directions. Originally the conception of the Samavasaraṇa seems to be circular in plan and the square plan seems to be a later conception. But it shows that the samavasaraṇa has for its prototype the big stūpa (the *harmikā* of stūpa may be compared with Gandhakuṭi or Devacchand-pīṭha for the Jina) surrounded by a circumambulatory path with a small railing reached by a flight of steps. At a lower level or on the ground level, running around this central structure and at some distance from it is the bigger railing (a sort of rampart) with ornamental toraṇa-gateways. Add to this a third similar rampart and we get the plan of the Samavasaraṇa [1]

But the more elaborate Digambara description, in the Mahāpurāṇa of Jinasena, summarised above, includes in it the various constituents of a big city and may be an ideal description of a big city-site with three fortifications, a surroundig moat, pleasure resorts, stepwells, theatres, lawns, lakes, palaces etc, and having in its centre the Royal Palace Viewed in this light, these descriptions are of special interest as providing us with architectural data of considerable value

In Kalpa-Sūtra miniatures Samavasarana is generally represented as circular and occasionally as square in plan Brown's Pl. 23, fig 80 shows Mahāvīra sitting in the padmāsana in the centre of the samavasarana, with a yakṣa standing as an attendant on each side Mahāvīra is not in a monk's garb, but with ornaments etc, as is often done in Śvetāmbara worship. Four highways lead to the central Jina The ornamental concentric bands round the Jina represent the usual fortifications. The whole is enclosed in a rectangular panel, at four corners of which are represented pairs of animals who have natural animosities, which they are supposed to give up under the spiritual atmosphere of this great congregation Brown's figures 113, and 126 are of a similar composition, representing the samavasarana of Ariṣṭanemi and Ṛṣabha respectively His fig 99 represents the second type, here a samavasarana

[1] The square or circular Samavasaraṇa has for its prototype the square or circular funeral mounds (or structures) referred to in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, or the Edūka-Aiduka of Mahābhārata, Viṣṇudharmottara and other texts A more critical study of the detailed measurements of the Samavasaraṇas described in the Tiloyapaṇṇatti etc, would probably give us a plan of square or circular stūpas in ancient India.

of Pārśvanātha [1] The pairs of animals are not represented.[2]

The fresco paintings of Sittannavāsal, assigned to the Age of Mahendravarman I, contain in the ceiling, a scene of a big lotus pond with animals such as elephants and bulls, birds, and fishes frolicking about and men gathering lotus flowers, which has been identified by Ramacandran, as the Khāṭikā-bhūmi or the tank region with the faithful (bhavyas) pleasing themselves by gathering lotus-flowers [3]

The wall and ceiling paintings at Tirumalai, North Arcot district (c. 11th Cent A D) also contain a representation of the samavasaraṇa structure in the usual form of a wheel, the painting being of less artistic merit [4]

Ramacandran has described at length the painting of a samavasaraṇa in the Vardhamâna temple at Jina-kāñcī, which need not be reproduced here.[5]

Representations of samavasaraṇas are available in reliefs showing lives of different Jinas, an example of it from the life of Śāntinātha, in a ceiling in the Vimala Vasahi, (Ābu) Bhāva No. 19 is noteworthy [6] Loose sculptures, mostly circular, showing three ramparts, one above the other, surmounted by a square pavilion showing the Jina-sitting on each side are also obtained, a beautiful example of which from the above temple (cell. 20) has been discussed by Dr. D R Bhandarkar.[7] A big sized beautiful bronze structure of a similar plan, installed in the eleventh century, brought from a shrine in Mārwār and now in a Jaina shrine at Surat is illustrated here in fig 76 Examples of such loose stone or metal sculptures and reliefs are numerous and scattered in Jaina shrines all over India The upper part of a samavasaraṇa, the pavilion or the Gandhakuṭi with the Jina facing each side has been a subject of representation by itself and receives

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[1] Another miniature showing a square Samavasaraṇa, of Mahāvīra, from a ms of the Sthānāṅga Sūtra, is illustrated by Brown, *A Ms of the Sthānāṅga Sūtra illustrated in the Early W Indian Style*, New Indian Antiquary, Vol. I, No. 2. (May 1938) pp 127 ff, fig 2

[2] For other miniatures of Samavasaraṇas, see *Jaina Citrakalpadruma*, figs. 72, 74, 244 Also, Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue*, Vol. IV.

[3] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol LI, pp 45-7, *Jaina Miniature Paintings In Western India*, pp. 10 ff, fig 1-2.

[4] Ramacandran, *Tiruparuttikunram and its Temples*, p. 62, n 1, Smith & Codrington, *History of Fine Arts*, p 344

[5] *Ibid.*, pl XVI, painting No 36, and pp 104 ff pp 124 ff pls. XIX ff. pp 130 ff pls. XXIII, XXIV, etc.

[6] *Ābu*, (Guj. ed.), Vol I pp 78 f and illustration at the end; also Bhāva 15, p 74 and plate at the end represents the life-story of some other Jina, with samavasaraṇa in the centre.

[7] *Ind. Ant*, Vol. XL., pp. 125 ff, and plate. See *Holy Ābu*, Figure, 21.

worship as the *Caumukha*, the *Pratimā-sarvatobhadrikā* of Mathurā sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa age. The conception being allied to and an essential part of the Samavasaraṇa, it may be inferred that installation of such Caumukhas (Figs. 28, 74 and 84) in ancient times were possibly regarded as symbolic representtions of samavasaraṇas. It is safer to assume that the practice of installing sculptures of this type was an old practice common to the cult of Caitya and Yakṣa worship and separate images were installed and worshipped or four sides of a Caitya or a pillar Another important part of a Samavasaraṇa, in the Digambara tradition, is the Māna-stambha (Fig 56 from Devagaḍh) or Indra-dhvaja, which has been very popular amongst the Digambara Jainas, and such free-standing columns erected near a Jaina shrine, in front of it on in the courtyard of the shrine, are very numerous in the South. An early example of such columns, with 4 different Jinas in relief near the base, is the inscribed Kahaon pillar (U P) erected in the Gupta age [1] Some later examples are obtained in the Devagaḍh fort, and still later ones are quite numerous at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa and other sites in the South

[1] Erected in A.D. 460 61, see, Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 66-68,

6. SIDDHA-CAKRA OR NAVA-DEVATĀ

The Siddha-Cakra is a very popular (tantric) yantra (diagram) in the Jaina cult. It is constituted of the Pañca-Parameṣṭhins or The Five Supreme Ones and the four Essentials for Salvation, together forming the Nava-Pada or 'nine padas' The worship of the Siddha-Cakra (Circle of the Siddhas or Sacred Ones) alias Navapada (Diagram formed of Nine Dignities[1]) even to day very popular in the Jaina Saṁgha, forms an interesting study not only on account of its antiquity but also for its importance in the Jaina theology. Amongst the Śvetāmbaras, the diagram is more popular as Siddha-Cakra, whereas the Digambara sect worships it as Nava-Devatā There is however, some difference in the two diagrams, the Pañca-Parameṣṭhins remaining common to both. But essentially both are one, since it is the worship of these Five Supreme ones that is mainly emphasised. The Five Supreme Ones of the Pañca-Parameṣṭhi-mantra[2] are *Arhat, Siddha, Ācārya, Upādhyāya* and *Sādhu* and denote the very essence of Jaina religious practice. The 108 qualities (guṇas) of these Five Supreme Ones[3] are to be meditated upon in this worship. In the Śvetāmbara practice, *i e.*, in the worship of the Siddha-Cakra, besides the above five are worshipped the four essentials (or the four-fold religion), namely, *samyak jñāna, samyak-darśana, samyak-cāritra,* and *samyak-tapa,*[4] constituting the fourfold virtue made of the Right Knowledge, Right Faith, Right Conduct, and Right Penance.

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[1] 'Pada' is explained as Dignity. It is not any particular person (or persons) that is worshipped but the 'pada' or Dignity, *i e,* merits or virtues associated with him. In practice however figures of the Five Paramesṭhins are carved or painted

[2] The Mantra is obtained in the beginning of the Bhagavatī sūtra, the Kalpa-sūtra and in the Mahāniśītha, 3rd adhyayana. Bhadrabāhu has discussed the Five Padas of this mantra in his Namaskāra-Niryukti.

[3] The Arhats are emancipated souls of whom the Tīrthankaras establish the four-fold tīrtha or the Jaina Samgha They are said to possess 46 qualities which can be regrouped into 12, the Siddhas or emancipated souls who have left their ethereal bodies and who reside on the Siddha-Śilā on top of the Universe, have 8 chief qualities, the Ācāryas who are heads of the various groups of Jaina monks are endowed with 36 principal qualities; the Upādhyāyas are those monks who teach scriptures and have 25 chief merits; the Sādhus are all other Jaina monks, who have 27 chief qualities besides other subsidiary ones.

[4] For an explanation of these concepts see, *Śri Sirivālakahā,* vv. 24-34.

As they symbolise the very essence of the Jaina Faith, the Nine Padas or "the Nine Worthies of Respect" acquired great sanctity and popularity amongst the Jainas of both the sects. The Digambaras, however, differed from the Śvetāmbaras with regard to these last four Padas. According to them, the four Padas are: the *Caitya* or Jina image, the *Caityālaya* or Jina-temple, the *Dharma-Cakra* or the Sacred Wheel of Law, and *Śruta* or the speech of the Tīrthaṅkaras represented by Jaina Scriptures.

Figure 85 represents a bronze tablet of the Siddha-Cakra worshipped by the Śvetāmbara sect. The diagram has the form of an eight-petalled lotus with the different worthies (padas) arranged as follows, The Arhat in the centre, the Siddha just above, the Ācārya to his right, the Upādhyāya below the Arhat, and the Sādhu to the left of the central figure. The Namaskāra-mantra or the obeissance formula to the Right Faith (*Om Hrim namo damsanassa*) is inserted on the petal between the Siddha and the Ācārya, that of Right knowledge (*Om Hrim namo nāṇassa*) between the Ācārya and the Upādhyāya, that of Right conduct (*Om Hrim namo Cārittassa*) between the latter and the Sādhu, and that of Penance (*Om Hrim namo tavassa*) between the Sādhu and the Siddha It will be seen that here invocations are offered to the abstract qualities but they are not worshipped as anthropomorphic deities. The Arhat and the Siddha sit in the padmāsana showing the dhyāna mudrā, while the remaining three Parameṣṭhins are in the same posture, they seem to carry some object in one hand with the other resting on the lap As figures are indistinct in this bronze, it is not possible to identify the symbol held by them But paintings of the Siddha-Cakra are common and in these,[1] each of these figures lets his left hand rest on the lap while the right one, held in the *Vyākhyānamudrā*, carries a *muha patti* (*mukha-pattikā*) or mouth-piece.[2] In the bronze illustrated here,[3] the whole lotus is encircled by a beautiful design while a gargoyle is attached to the lower end so as to allow the ablution water to pass through it.

It may be noted that in paintings of this diagram, each of the five Paramesthins has a particular complexion, necessary for his *dhyāna* in the Tantric sādhana of the Siddha-Cakra-Yantra. Thus the Arhat, the Siddha, the Ācārya, the Upādhyāya and the Sādhu are of white, red, yellow, blue and black complexion respectively. The colour of the remaining four members of the

[1] See, Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art, Vol IX (1941), fig. 1 on pl. facing p 44

[2] It is a piece of cloth held in front of the mouth in order to avoid insects flying into it, thereby safeguarding against violence or hiṁsā

[3] Preserved in the Baroda Museum. Discussed by me in Baroda Museum Bulletin, Vol. 3, pl I, pp. 25 ff.

Navā-Pada is to be visualised, in meditation, as white according to the Nava-Pada-Ārādhanā-vidhi.[1]

The Digambara diagram of Nava-Devatā is illustrated by a bronze from a temple at Jina-Kāñcī[2] (fig. 77). The Digambara tantra has two more diagrams known as the Laghu-Siddha-Cakra and the Bṛhat-Siddha-Cakra both of which are widely different from the Nava-Devatā or the Śvetāmbara Siddha-Cakra. As they are rarely engraved on metal plates and worshipped in temples, a discussion on them is not necessary. Besides, they have no special iconographic importance.

The Digambara Nava-Devatā diagram forms the central eight-petalled lotus of the elaborate Pratiṣṭhā-vidhi-maṇḍala described by Nemicandra in his Pratiṣṭhā-tilaka.[3] The Nava-Devatās are also invoked in the Nitya-samdhyā-kriyā-vidhi of the Jina-Samhitā[4] ascribed to Indranandī, the well-known Digambara Tantric of c. tenth century A. D. The Yantra-mantra-vidhi section of the Pratiṣṭhā-kalpa-tippaṇam[5] of Vādi Kumudacandra (c. 1275 V. S.) which mentions different Digambara yantras, also describes an elaborate 'Pañca-Maṇḍala' called Nava-Devatā, the central eight-petalled lotus of which is reserved for the worship of the Five Parameṣṭhins, the Jina-temple, the Jina-image, the Jaina scripture and the Dharma-Cakra. Obviously, the Arhat amongst these, is placed in the centre of the eight-petalled lotus.

The Jina-Samhitā of Ekasamdhi (c. 1250 A. D.) prescribes in the Devārcana-vidhi section, a big maṇḍala with an eight-petalled lotus in centre, wherein are invoked the Five Parameṣṭhins, and the symbols (?) of samyak-jñāna, s-darśana, and s-cāritra, tapa, however, is omitted, possibly through a copyist's mistake. The maṇḍala contains, moreover, invocations to the goddesses of the Jayā and the Jambhā groups, the sixteen Vidyādevīs, the twenty-four Yakṣiṇīs and others. According to the author of this work, the maṇḍala followed the tradition of Indranandī. Thus the central part of this elaborate diagram completely corresponds to the still existing type of the Śvetāmbara Siddha-Cakra illustrated in our figure 85. Again, in the Pratiṣṭhā-vidhi section, the same writer, following Indranandī, gives a bigger maṇḍala including

[1] Also, Siri Sirivāla-Kahā, verses 1185 1191.

[2] First published by Shri Ramacandran, T. N., *Tiruparuttikunram and its Temples*, pl. XXXVI, fig. 2.

[3] *Pratiṣṭhā-tilaka*, pp. 72-73. Āśādhara in his *Pratiṣṭhā-sāroddhāra*, p. 20, appears to suggest the same thing.

[4] Incomplete mss. of this work are available in Digambara Bhāṇḍāras. One such (No. 182-Ka) exists in Śrī Ailaka Pannālāl Dig. Jaina Bhāṇḍāra, Bombay.

[5] In mss. No. 222/kha, Jaina Siddhānta Bhavana, Arrah.

all the above-mentioned deities and many more, and invokes the Pañca-Paramesthins and the four-padas, namely, Jñāna, Darśana, Cāritra and Tapa, in the central eight-petalled lotus. That what the Digambaras worshipped as a Siddha-Cakra yantra, was quite different from the Śvetāmbara one of the same name as also from the Digambara Nava-Devatā, is quite evident from the descriptions of the Laghu-Siddha-Cakra and the Bṛhat-Siddha-Cakra yantras given by Āśādhara,[1] Ekasamdhi,[2] and Vādi Kumudacandra [3]

Amongst the Śvetāmbaras, the Nine Worthies were also the first group of deities invoked in the elaborate Nandyāvarta-maṇḍala[4] prescribed for consecratory rites by the Ācāra-Dinakara[5] (1468 V. S) The Nirvāṇkalikā (c. 11th Century A. D) refers to the same maṇḍala,[6] but in the invocation mantras 'tapas' or Right Penance is replaced by *Śuci-vidyā*. Hemacandra, in his Yogaśāstra[7] describes a yantra with Five Paramesthins, but instead of adding the four padas noted above (Jñāna, Darśana etc), the four 'padas' of the Namaskāra-mantra (Navakāra-mantra) giving the *fala-śruti* are prescribed in the intervening quarters (*vidik-patras* of the eight-fold lotus) [8] Thus the yantra of Hemacandra, partly different from the Siddha-Cakra known today, proves that the older Nava-pada-yantra was composed simply of the various parts of the older 'Navakāra-mantra' And it is interesting to note that Hemacandra does not specify it as Siddha-Cakra The same writer, however, refers to the Siddha-Cakra as a diagram brought to light, by Vajrasvāmi, from the lost Vidyānupravāda-pūrvva text, in the early centuries of the Christian era [9] Unfortunately, the yantra is not described in this context and the

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1 *Pratisthāsāroddhāra*, Chp 6, siddha-pratiṣthāvidhi, verses 10-14.

2 *Jinasamhitā*, (Mss), Chp 9, verses 88

3 *Pratisthā-Kalpa-Ṭippanam*, Yantra-mantra-vidhi-section (Ms)

4 Diagram of the shape of the Nandyāvarta symbol

5 *Ācāra-Dinakara*, part 2, pp 154. ff

6 *Nirvānakalikā*, pp 16 ff note the order PKT verses quoted here

7 *Yogaśāstra*, Chp 8, verses 33-35

8 The original mantra known as the Pañca-Parameṣṭhi-mantra is
नमो अरिहंताणं । नमो सिद्धाणं । नमो आयरियाणं । नमो उवज्झायाणं । नमो लोए सव्व-साहूणं ।
This followed by a *fala śruti* in four padas (called culāpadas by Hemcandra) would constitute a Navakāra-mantra. The 4 padas are —
एसो पंच नमुक्कारो । सव्वपावप्पणासणो । मंगलाणं च सव्वेसिं । पढमं हवइ मंगलं ।

9 ज्ञानवद्भिः समाम्नात वज्रस्वाम्यादिभिः स्फुटम् ।
विद्यानुवादात्समुद्धृत्य बीजभूतं शिवश्रियः ॥ ७४ ॥
जन्मदावहुताशस्य प्रशान्तनववारिदम् ।
गुरूपदेशाद्विज्ञाय सिद्धचक्रं विचिन्तयेत् ॥ ७५ ॥
Yoga-śāstra, 8, verses 74-75.

disciple is invited to learn it from the preceptor. Very probably, this Siddha-Cakra, was based on the Pañca-Parameṣṭhi-namaskāra-mantra (Pañcanamaskāra, shortly), with or without its '*falaśruti*'.

It seems that in the earlier stage the Siddha-Cakra diagram included the worship of the five Parameṣṭhins only, with the daraśana, jñāna, cāritra and tapa omitted. The fala-śruti is only for the pañca-namaskāra (*eso pañca-namokkāro savva-pāpa panāsano*) Siddhasena, commenting upon Pravacana-sāroddhara, verses 78-79 dealing with the Pañca-Parameṣṭhimantra, refers to older texts like the Namāskara-valaya, where a vyākhya (explanation) of the Pañca-parameṣṭhi-Namaskāra is given.[1] As is quite obvious, the Siddha-Cakra is none else than the Namaskāra-valaya, elaborated, at a later stage, with the addition of jñāna, darśana, cāritra and tapa.

But it is certain that the diagram of Siddha-Cakra (possibly in its earlier form) was already well known in the age of Hemacandra, even though no earlier reference to Siddha-Cakra-yantra could be traced in the extant Śvetāmbara literature for he specifically refers to it as a '*samaya-prasiddha-Cakra-viśesa.*'[2]

The worship of the present type of Siddha-Cakra seems to have started at a comparatively late age in Jainism as is proved by negative archæological evidence, since almost none of the available siddha-cakra diagrams in paintings and sculpture goes back to the pre Mogul period, and also by the late date of the existing literary traditions eulogising the worship of this diagram The mythic story of a King Śrīpāla who had been famous for his devotion to the Siddha-Cakra and who is supposed to have been rewarded for his meritorious devotion to the worship of this diagram, forms the subject matter of Siri-Sirivāla-kahā of Ratnamandira gaṇi (1362 A D)[1] A Gujarāti ballad known as Śrīpāla-rāsu, composed in 1738 A D , is very popular amongst the Śvetāmbara Jainas of modern Gujarat

Ratnamandira gani describes the Siddha-Cakra yantra in every detail His version of the yantra however, is larger than the one commonly worshipped (as in our figure 85) and comprises worship of several other Jaina deities According to the author, the presiding deity or guardian of this mystic diagram is Śrī Vimalasvāmi, but the Nine Padas of course form a nucleus around which other deities find a place in the yantra. We have no means to ascertain that the

[1] Pravacana sāroddhāra pp. 15-16.

[2] Commenting on the word Arhan, in the first sūtra of his *Śabdānuśāsana*, he writes :—सिद्धचक्रस्यादिबीजमित्यादिना पश्चादुच्यते । समयप्रसिद्धस्य चक्रविशेषस्य सिद्धमभिधानम् ।......

Bṛhannyāsa,—ed by Ācārya Lāvaṇya Sūri, p 3.

'Siddha-Cakra' referred to by Hemacandra, noted above, had been the same as the Siddha-Cakra later described in the Siri Sirivāla-kahā of Ratnamandira gani.[1]

King Śrīpāla (Sirivāla) an ideal worshipper of the Siddha-Cakra, is said to have visited the ancient city of Śūrpāraka or Sopāraka near Bombay and Thāṇā. The place is well-known as the site of a Buddhist Stūpa and as an ancient port. Some later Jaina texts and hymns do speak of a shrine of Ṛṣabhanātha having existed here, while Vajrasvāmi, who is said to have restored the Siddha-Cakra is also known to have visited it, and four converts from the ancient port, at the hands of Vajrasena, the pupil of Vajrasvāmī, are well-known as the originators of four *kulas*, namely, Nāgendra, Candra, Nirvṛti and Vidyādhara, amongst Jaina monks

Tantric texts like the "Namaskāra-Valaya", (as noted above) were known to Siddhasena (1248 V S.—1181 A D), the commentator of Pravacana-sāroddhāra. His remarks are noteworthy in as much as he says that in works of this class is given a vyākhyā (commentary, discussion) of the Pañca-Parameṣṭhi Namaskāra This Pañca-Parameṣṭhi-mantra is said to be the origin of all mantras (spells, charms), the essence of all the fourteen Pūrvva texts, and the wishing-tree (Kalpa-druma) for the attainment of all desired objects. Its power is great in as much as it can be used against poisons, snakes, supernatural beings like Śākinī, Ḍākinī, Yākinī and the like grahas and has the powers of Vaśya, Ākṛṣṭi, etc., over the whole world[2]

Thus it may be inferred that the Siddha-Cakra-Yantra made up of this Pañca-Paramesthi mantra was employed in the various Tantric rites—the sat-karmas, such as Śāntika, Pauṣṭika, Vaśya, Ākarṣana, Mohana and Mārana—at least in the eleventh century A D, *i e.* in a century or two preceeding the age of Siddhasena's commentary Originally, the Siddha-Cakra or the Namaskāra-Valaya must have been employed in pure rites only, *i e* in the Śāntika and the Pauṣṭika. But the growing Tantric influence in India, from c 7th century A D. if not earlier, which resulted in the composition of various Buddhist Sādhanas, and in a similar activity in the Brahmanical Tantras, also led the Jainas not only to elaborate their pantheon, but also to introduce a number of

[1] Also called Ratnaśekhara sūri. He was pupil of Hematilaka sūri, the pupil of Vajrasena sūri of Bṛhadgaccha *Siri Sirivālakahā* with Avacūri of Hemacandra (the pupil of Ratnaśekhara, the author), is published in D L J P F, Bombay (1923 A.D)

[2] It includes invocations to the 16 Vidyādevīs, the Śāsana-Suras (24-yakṣas), the Śāsana-devīs (24 yakṣiṇīs), 10 Dik-pālas the Kṣetrapāla, the 4 Pratihāras (Kumuda, Añjana etc.), the 4 Vīras, the Guru-Pādukās and so on—*Siri Sirivālakahā*, vv. 196-207.

tantric rites and practices which were originally prohibited to Jaina monks and which were against the very principles of Jainism.

Later Digambara manuscripts of the Pañca-Namaskāra-kalpa, and Śvetāmbara manuscripts of the Pañca-Parameṣṭhi-kalpa are still available in the different Jaina Bhāṇḍāras. This class of small tantric texts (*kalpa*) on the Namaskāra-mantra await a special critical study.

7. AUSPICIOUS DREAMS [1]

When the Venerable Lord Mahāvīra descended into the womb of Devānandā, she saw fourteen dreams.[2] When he was transferred by Harinegameṣin to the womb Kṣatriyāṇī Triśalā, she saw the same set of fourteen dreams.[3] Whenever a Tīrthaṅkara descends from one of the heavens into the womb of his Mother she sees fourteen dreams, according to the Śvetāmbara Jaina traditions [4] According to Digambara traditions, however, the Mother of every Jina sees sixteen auspicious dreams at this moment

The fourteen dreams seen by Triśalā, are described in detail in the Kalpa-sūtra :—(1) A white elephant, large and beautiful, with four tusks and streaming with ichor (2) A white bull surrounded by a diffusion of light, with a charming hump and horns greased at tips (3) A sportive lion, whiter than pearls and beautiful, with flapping tail and protruding tongue (4) The Goddess Śrī, four-armed and carrying the lotuses adorned with various ornaments, lustrated by two celestial elephants (5) A garland of various flowers. (6) The Moon—the full moon. (7) The red Sun. (8) A wondrous, beautiful banner, fastened to a golden staff, with a lion at the top (9) A full-vase filled with water and lotuses, the abode of Fortune (10) A large lake full of lotuses, swarming with bees and aquatic birds sitting beside it. (11) The Ocean of Milk, with agitated waters and full of aquatic animals. (12) The celestial palace (devavimāna), of numerous columns, hung with garlands, decorated with pictures or sculptures. (13) The jewel heap—of all sorts of jewels (14) A smokeless fire, with flame in constant motion

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[1] Belief in auspicious dreams is very old in India, cf. the Chāndogya Upa. V 2.7 8—" स यदि स्त्रियं पश्येत्समृद्धं कर्मेति विद्यात् । तदेष श्लोक:

यदा कर्मसु काम्येषु स्त्रियं स्वप्नेषु पश्यति ।

समृद्धिं तत्र जानीयात्तस्मिन्स्वप्ननिदर्शने ॥

Such belief dates from pre-Mahāvīra epochs and the Nimitta-pāthakās are said to have been called by Siddhārtha to interpret the dreams seen by Triśālā, the mother of Mahāvīra. Nimittasāstra was very popular with the Ājīvikas from whom Kālakācārya mastered it in the 1st century B.C The *Angavijjā* (c. 600 - A. D.) is a very important early Jaina text on Nimitta (based possibly on earlier texts) which is being recently edited by Muni Shri Puṇyavijaya

[2] *Kalpa-Sūtra*, sū 3; Jacobi's transl. (SBE), p 219.

[3] *Kalpa-Sūtra*, sū. 31-46, Jacobi, *op cit*, 229-238

[4] For a discussion on and interpretation of some of these prognostic dreams, see, Coomaraswamy, *The Conqueror's life in Jaina Paintings* J I.S.O A, Vol. III, No. 2, (Dec. 1935), pp. 125-144.

Kalpa-Sūtra miniatures show representations of these dreams, either in a group, as in Brown's figure 19, or singly as in Brown's figs. 20-33, pp. 19-22. The most common type of miniature (*cf.* Brown's figs. 6. 18)[1] represents the mother of a Jina sleeping on a cot in the lowest panel and in the two or three panels above are shown, in different rows, smaller figures of the fourteen dreams. Representations generally confirm to the Kalpa sūtra text, and only minor differences occur, *e g* the Sun may be represented anthropomorphically or as a circular disc.[2]

Dreams are also represented in stone reliefs in the lives of different Tīrthaṅkaras, a photo illustrated in fig 83 shows one such set from a Jaina shrine at Kumbhāriā, N. Gujarāt[3]

A wooden panel of these fourteen dreams, illustrated here (fig 87), is preserved in the Shrī Paṇḍyā-gṛha at Pāṭaṇ, N Gujarāt Paintings of the dreams are also obtained on wooden book-covers,[4] or as reliefs on wooden or metal stools or platters used for placing offerings in Jaina shrines.

According to Digambara traditions, the dreams are :—(1) Airāvata the elephant of Indra, (2) The best of bulls, (3) the lion white in colour with red manes, (4) the goddess Padmā (Śrī) seated on golden lotuses and lustrated by elephants, (5) pair of garlands of best flowers, (6) the moon, (7) the sun rising from the Udayācala mountain, (8) pair of full-vases with lotuses placed on their mouths, (9) pair of fishes, (10) celestial lake, (11) agitated ocean, (12) a lofty golden lion-throne, (13) a celestial car (vimāna), (14) a palace of the king of snakes (Nāgendra-bhavana), (15) heap of jewels, (16) smokeless fire.[5]

Representations of the sixteen dreams are also popular amongst the Digambara Jainas and are often carved on door-lintels of Jaina shrines, an

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[1] For other illustrations, see, *Jaina Citrakalpadruma* figs. 73 Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian collections in the Boston Museum* Vol IV, figs. 34, 13 Brown, *KSP*, fig 152, p 64. *Pavitrakalpasūtra*, figs. 17, 22.

[2] Representations of Śrī amongst such miniatures, of special iconographic interest, will be treated separately in a chapter on the iconography of Śrī-Laxmī, the goddess of wealth, in my forthcoming, "Elements of Jaina Iconography".

[3] At Kharataravasahi Caumukha shrine, Ābu, they are represented on an architrave in the hall in front of the main shrine. A photograph of it will be found in तीर्थराज आबू (Gujarātī) by Muniśrī Jayantavijaya, 5th edition

[4] In the life of Pārśvanātha, on a book-cover in the Shri Ātmārāma Jñāna-mandri Bhāṇḍāra; Baroda, collection of Pravartaka Śrī Kāntivijaya. JISOA., Vol V, pp 2-12 ff pl For a reference to paintings of dreams on walls, *Nirayāvaliāo*, 2.1 p. 51. Also see Jesalmere Citrāvalī.

[5] Mahāpurāṇa (Ādipurāṇa), sarga 12, vv. 101-119, pp. 259 ff. Harivamśa, sarga 8, verses 58-74, pp. 160-161.

early specimen of them is available on the door frame of a cell in the Śāntinātha temple at Khajurāho. There are some more representations of the dreams on the door-frames of different Jaina shrines at Khajurāho.

According to Jaina traditions, mothers of other Śalākāpuruṣas like the Baladevas, Vāsudevas, and Cakravartins also see a certain number of dreams at the time of conception [1] According to Śvetāmbara traditions, the mother of a Vāsudeva (Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu) sees the following 7 dreams —(1) Young lion (2) Padmā (Śrī) seated on a lotus, being sprinkled with water by two elephants (3) Sun (4) a pitcher filled with water and having its mouth adorned with white lotuses (5) an ocean filled with aquatic animals etc. (6) a heap of jewels (7) smokeless fire. [2] According to the Digambaras, they are .— (1) Sun (2) Moon (3) Śrī (4) Vimāna (5) Fire (6) Celestial banner (7) Disc made of jewels. [3]

The mother of a Baladeva sees the following 4 dreams:—(1) Elephant with four tusks (2) bull (3) Moon (4) a pond filled with lotuses. [4] According to Digambara tradition, they are (1) Moon (2) elephant (3) ocean (4) Sun. [5]

The mother of a Cakravartin sees fourteen dreams like the Mother of a Tīrthankara, according to Śvetāmbara tradition [6] According to the other sect, she sees five dreams; (1) Earth, (2) Sumeru mountain, (3) Sun and Moon, (4) lake with swans and (5) Ocean with surging waves [7]

Dreams are auspicious or inauspicious Mahāvīra in his itinerary, before realisation of final knowledge, saw ten dreams which are described along with their meaning by the Sthānānga Sūtra [8] Belief in dreams is an ancient superstition It is difficult to say when the section on dreams was introduced in the life of Mahāvīra in the Kalpasūtra account, at least the detailed descriptions of

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[1] The belief is common to both sects, but the difference in number of dreams would suggest their comparatively later growth

[2] *Triṣaṣṭi*, parva 4, chp 1, vv 216-233. *Pavitrakalpasūtra.*, sū. 72 f, text, p 27

[3] *Harivaṁśa*, 35 vv 11-12, Vol. II, pp. 451-52. *Padmacarita*, 25. 3 p 506 notes a different tradition, according to which she sees (1) Lion and (2) Moon only.

[4] *Triṣaṣṭi.*, op cit, vv 167-179

[5] *Harivaṁśa*, 32. 1-2, p, 412. *Padmacarita*, 25. 12-15, p. 507 gives a different tradition.

[6] *Triṣaṣṭi.*, 1. 4. vv. 883 ff. (GOS) p. 148. *Pavitrakalpasūtra* ed. by Muni Puṇyavijayaji, sū-71, text p 26 f.

[7] *Harivaṁśa*, 32. 1-2, p. 412. *Padmacarita*, 25. 12-15, p. 507 gives a different tradition. *Mahāpurāṇa* (Ādipurāṇa), parva 15, vv. 100-101, pp. 334f.

[8] *Sthānānga Sūtra*, 10-3. sū. 750, Vol. II. pp. 499 ff.

each of the fourteen dreams seem to have been added later as shown by the analysis of Muni Puṇyavijaya[1] in his critical edition of the 'Pavitra Kalpa-Sūtra' It may be added that the ornament *dīnāra-mālā* (necklace or garland of Dīṇāra coins) in the description of Śrī in these dreams (Kalpa-Sūtra, sūtra 37) supports the inference that this section is added later and may be as late as the Valabhi council under Devarddhi gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa

Belief in dreams is common to all sects The Brahmavaivarta Purāna, in the Khaṇḍa dealing with the life of Krishṇa (adh. 77) gives a list of good dreams (with their results) The same Purāṇa, adh 70 gives a list of such dreams seen by Akrūra Bad dreams with their results are referred to in *ibid.*, adh 80, similar dreams were also seen by Kamsa as narrated in *ibid*, adh 63. Accounts of good and bad dreams are also available in the Devīpurāṇa, adh 22, Kālikāpurāna, adh 87, Matsya Purāṇa, adh 242 and so on. The science of Svapna-Śakuna was very popular in the age of Purāṇas and even medical works like the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya of Vāgbhata, refer to such dreams in detail (in Śārīrasthāna, adh. 6).[2]

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[1] Muni Shri Punyavijaya, in his Intro to the *Pavitra-Kapla-Sūtra*, p. 10, says that the detailed description of the fourteen dreams in the KS is not referred to in the Cūrni of Agastya-Simha, and that it is difficult to say whether this part is genuine According to him both the Niryukti and the Cūrṇi on the Daśāśrutaskandha (of which KS is the eigth adhyayana) are about 1600 years old, or earlier, *i e.* c 350 A D or earlier These remarks of the learned Muniji are further supported by the ref to the coin Dīnāra noted above.

[2] See, *Śabda-kalpadruma-kośa*, under *svapna*.

8. AṢṬAMAṄGALA

The *Aṣṭamaṅgalas* or Eight Auspicious objects are familiar to both the sects and are known to Jaina worship from ancient times. They are :—*Svastika*, *Śrīvatsa*, *Nandyāvarta*, *Varddhamānaka*, (powder-flask), *Bhadrāsana* (throne, a particular type of seat), *Kalaśa* (the full-vase), *Darpana* (mirror) and *Matsya* (or Matsya-yugma, pair of fish), and are often referred to in Jaina texts, including canonical works,[1] as decorating tops of architraves or ramparts, or placed on Caitya-trees, platforms, painted on walls and so on [2]

Hemacandra also notes that the eight auspicious symbols were represented on Bali-paṭṭas or offering stands.[3] The offering-stand is a platter with low legs, made of wood or metal, used to hold offering in temple worships. It has eight auspicious signs carved or made in high relief Such stools, often made of wood with silver plate studded all over it, or of silver or brass, and with reliefs of the eight auspicious marks or of the dreams, are even today used for placing offerings in Jaina shrines. Often Jaina ladies prepare such signs with uncooked rice on such platters

But the reference by Hemacandra to Balipaṭṭas with marks of eight auspicious objects is interesting since such auspicious symbols are seen on some of the Jaina Āyāgapaṭas of the Kuṣāna age, obtained from Mathurā The Tablet set up by Acalā (fig XI of Smith), for example, shows a line of four symbols in the upper most panel and another of eight at base In this lower panel, the first symbol from right end, partly mutilated, was probably the Śrīvatsa The second is Svastika, third a lotus-bud half open, fourth a pair of fish, fifth a water-jar (with a handle), sixth is either an offering of sweets or a crude representation of ratna-rāśi The seventh is possibly the sthāpanā (a cross-stand with a mss on it), the eighth is an inverted tri-ratna, like the so-called hill on some coins The uppermost central rectangular panel, which contains

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[1] *Aupapātika sūtra*, sū 31, pp 68 69 —*Sovatthiya* (*or sotthiya*), *Sirivaccha*, *nandiyāvatta*, *bhaddāsana*, *Kalasa*, *maccha*, *dappana*, *and Vaddhamānaka*

[2] *Trisasti I* (GOS), pp 112, 190 *Mahāpurāna* (*Adipurāna*), parva 22 vv 143, 185, 210 etc , pp 520 ff.

cf — तेसि ण तोरणाणं उप्पि अट्ठट्ठ मंगलगा पण्णत्ता, तं जहा—
सोत्थिय, सिरिवच्छ, नन्दियावत्त, वद्धमाणग, भद्दासण, कलस, मच्छ, दप्पण, जाव पडिरूवा ॥

—*Rāyapasenaiyam*, ed by Pt Bechardas (Ahmedabad), pp 80; also *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti*, Vol I. p 43

[3] Triṣaṣṭi. I (GOS) p. 190 and note 238.

four symbols, shows the Śrīvatsa, another type of svastika with bent ends, and two more symbols which cannot be properly identified[1] Some of these symbols occur on other Āyāgapaṭas.[2] A much better preserved set of eight symbols, is however obtained on the Āyāgapata set up by Sīhanādika (J 249, Lucknow Museum) with inscription in characters earlier than that of the age of Kaniṣka[3] Here in the lower panel are shown, the tri-ratna, the full-blown flower, the sthāpanā (is it the *bhadrāsana?*[4]) and the *maṅgala-kalaśa* (full-vase). In the pannel at the top are a pair of fish, an unidentified symbol, the śrīvatsa and the powder-flask (*vardhamānaka*).

It is thus reasonable to infer that in the Kuṣāṇa age, the set of the Aṣṭa-maṅgalas was not finally settled[5] and that the earlier tradition as obtained on these Āyāgapaṭas, especially the Āyāgapaṭa of Sīhanādika, shows a slightly different set from the one known to us In this older tradition represented on the Āyāgapaṭas, the *nandyāvarta* and the *darpaṇa* are omitted and the full-grown lotus and another unidentified symbol are used. The Mathurā finds represent a stage anterior to the tradition recorded in the Jaina canons avail-

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[1] Smith, *Jaina Stūpa*, pl. XI

[2] Cf Smith, *JS*, pl IX, p 16.

[3] Smith, *Ibid*, pl. VII, p 14.

[4] Bhadrāsana is described elaborately by later texts *like the Viṣṇu-dharmottara* (c sixth century A. D), cf —

भद्रासनं नरेन्द्रस्य क्षीरवृक्षेण कारयेत्।
उच्छ्रायश्च तथा तस्य अध्यर्धं तु समं भवेत्॥
हस्तत्रय तथाविष्टं विस्तरेण तु कारयेत्।
आयामश्चास्य कर्तव्यो विस्तरेणार्धसम्मित॥
चतुरस्र तु कर्तव्यं राज्ञो भद्रासनं शुभम्।
नाह्रस्वं न तथा वृत्तं न च दीर्घं भृगूत्तम॥
सुवर्णरूप्यताम्रैश्च चित्रं कार्यं विशेषत:।
रत्नै प्रशस्तैर्न तथा न रत्नप्रतिरूपकै:॥
चत्वार पुरुषास्तत्र विन्यस्ता भृगुनन्दन।
द्विगुणाश्च तथा सिंहास्तेभ्यस्तु द्विगुणास्तथा॥
भद्रासनं तत्र भवेन्नृपस्य तलेन पूर्णं ससुखं परार्ध्यम्।
वैयघ्रचर्मास्तरणं सुखार्थं वरासनं तस्य समामनन्ति॥

Viṣṇudharmottara, 2nd khaṇḍa, 14 adh, p. 178.

[5] Especially see, हर्षचरित, एक सांस्कृतिक अध्ययन (Hindi) by Dr. Vasudeva Śaraṇa Agrawala, p 120, where he has referred to Aṣṭamaṅgala-mālās from Sānchī reliefs. The maṅgalakas are more than eight at Sānchī. Gradually they came to be fixed as eight.

able to us.[1] Such facts confirm our inference that most of the texts as available today follow the edition of the Mathura council, of c. 300-313 A. D., under Ārya Skandila (i. e. they are post-Kuṣāṇa or late Kṣatrapa in age) and that the extant Niryuktis should naturally post-date this council.

Aṣṭamaṅgalas are represented in miniature paintings[2] of manuscripts, or in paintings on canvass of different paṭas, and in scroll paintings of the Vijñaptipatras[3] They are often represented as decorative motifs, either separately or in groups, on different parts of a temple, especially on architraves or door-lintels. Small platters of these aṣṭamaṅgalas are also dedicated in Jaina temples and often worshipped along with other objects (fig. 60, from a Jaina shrine in Baroda).

The aṣṭamaṅgalas are often worshipped in Jaina rites The Ācāra-Dinakara[4] fortunately explains the significance of these symbols, which however, may or may not represent the original conceptions. The Kalaśa or the full-vase, for example, according to this text, is worshipped as a symbol for the Jina as he is verily like a kalaśa in his family. The mirror is for seeing one's true self; the bhadrāsana is worshipped as it is sanctified by the feet of the Blessed Lord, the Vardhamānaka is suggestive of increase of wealth, fame, merit etc, due to the grace of the Lord It is said that the highest knowledge has manifested itself from the heart of the Jina, in the form of the Śrīvatsa—mark on his chest. Svastika, according to this text, signifies svasti, that is, Śānti or peace Nandyāvarta (diagram) with its nine points stands for the nine nidhis (treasures) The pair of fish is the symbol of Cupid's banners come to worship the Jina after the defeat of the god of Love

The Digambara sect gives the following set of aṣṭamangalas:—(1) *Bhṛṅgāra* (a type of vessel), (2) *Kalaśa*—the full-vase, (3) *Darpana*—the mirror, (4) *Cāmara*—the fly-whisk, (5) *Dhvaja*—the banner, (6) *Vyajana*—the fan, (7) *Chatra*—the Umbrella and (8) *Suprahstha*—a seat[5] *

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[1] It is interesting to note that, on a red sand-stone umbrella (c 2nd cent. A. D.), from Mathurā, the following eight auspicious symbols are carved:—(1) Nandipada (same as what is called tri-ratna above), (2) Matsya-yugma, (3) Svastika, (4) Puṣpa-dāma, (5) Pūrṇa-ghaṭa, (6) Ratna-pātra, (7) Śrivatsa, (8) Śaṅkha-nidhi..... "*A new Stone Umbrella from Mathurā*", by Dr. V S. Agrawala, J U P. H. S, Vol. XX (1947), pp 65-67 For the Jaina evidence & description of these umbrellas, from Praśnavyākaraṇa sūtra, see, *A Further Note On Stone Umbrellas from Mathurā*," Shah U P., J U P. H S, Vol XXIV.

[2] *Jaina Citrakalpadruma*, figs. 82, 59. Moticandra, *Jaina Miniature Paintings in W. India.*

[3] For illustration, see, Johnson, transl. of *Triṣaṣṭi*. I. (GOS.), pl. IV.

[4] *Ācāra-Dinakara*, pp. 197-198.

[5] *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, 4 738, Vol. I, p. 236.

Some of these symbols, like the svastika, are of very ancient origin, common to different ancient civilizations and races of the world, and their exact significance is not always easy to comprehend. The full-vase or the Pūrṇa-Kalas'a of Vedic literature, is the Indian symbol of fullness of life, of plenty, of immortality.[1]

Belief in auspicious objects is very old, common to all sects. Agrawala has already referred to *Mangala-mālā* amongst Sāñchī reliefs[2] - The Mahābhārata, Dronaparva, 82 20-22, mentions numerous objects which Arjuna looked at and touched as auspicious when starting for battle, amongst which auspicious maidens are also mentioned[3] The Vāmana-Purāṇa, 14. 35-36 mentions several objects which are auspicious The Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa also gives lists of animate and inanimate objects regarded as auspicious[4] Belief in mangalas and mangala-dravyas is also known to the Rāmāyaṇa.[5]

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[1] The Full-jar has been discussed by Dr Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, part II pp 61 64, by Dr. Agrawala, *J U.P H S*, Vol XVII, pp 1-6 ff. The two eyes associated with the mangala-kalaśa in Jaina miniatures, are said by Wilhelm Huttemann (*Miniature Zum Jina caritra, Bassler-Archin, Vol. 4,* (1914), pp 47-77) to symbolize clairvoyant knowledge which sees through uttermost limits. Brown (*KSP*, p. 12, n s) suggests that the association of eyes with the vessel of plenty (clouds) may indicate a vestigial representation of the sun, which sees all and knows all (cf. *Atharva Veda*, 19 53.3)

The Vardhamānaka and Śrīvatsa symbols are treated by Coomaraswamy, *Ostasiatische Zeitschr* (*1927 28*), pp 181-182 and by Johnson E H, *J R A S.* 1931, pp 558 f *Ibid*, 1932, pp. 393 ff For Svastika, see Brown, W.N, *The Svastika*

[2] Agrawala, V. S, हर्षचरित, एक सांस्कृतिक अध्ययन, p 120

[3] Also see, Kane, P V, *History of Dharmasâstra*, Vol II. p 511. He cites the following verse from a *Śaunaka-kārikā* (ms Bombay University Library, Folio 22b) which speaks of eight auspicious objects .—

दर्पण. पूर्णकलश कन्या सुमनसोऽक्षताः ।
दीपमाला ध्वजा लाजा सम्प्रोक्तं चाष्टमङ्गलम् ॥

[4] Cf *Brahmavaivarta Purāna*, Ganapatikhanda, adhyāya 16 and Kṛṣṇajanmakhanda, adhyāya 70, both quoted by *Śabdakalpadruma*, III. p. 564

The *Śabdakalpadruma*, I. p 148 quotes the following :—

मृगराजो वृषो नागः कलशो व्यजनं तथा ।
वैजयन्ती तथा भेरी दीप इत्यष्टमङ्गलम् ॥ इति [illegible]

Also, लोकेऽस्मिन्मङ्गलान्यष्टौ ब्राह्मणो गौर्हुताशनः ।
हिरण्यं सर्पिरादित्य आपो राजा तथाऽष्टम ॥ इति शुद्धितत्त्वम्

[5] cf. मङ्गलैरभिषिञ्चस्व तत्र त्वं व्यापृतो भव । Rāmāyaṇa, II. 23. 29.

9. STHĀPANĀ AND OTHER SYMBOLS

Sthāpanā or *Sthāpanācārya* is a symbolic representation of his ācārya or teacher which a Jaina monk keeps in front while giving a discourse. It marks the presence of the elder, used as a corrective witness, a precaution against misinterpretation, but especially as a mark of reverence to the teacher Literally it means installation of the (figure or symbol) of the ācārya, when he is not personally present [1]

It is a crossed wooden stand, made of two or more crossed sticks which can be folded and carried easily. The sticks are tied with a string in the centre and when the stand is placed in position, a nice piece of cloth, often a costly, ornamental one is placed as a cover on its top Under it were often placed *aksa* and *varāṭaka*. A scripture was sometimes placed on it or used as a sthāpanā. The sticks are often made of ivory or sandalwood with beautiful carvings at ends The sthāpanā is an old practice amongst monks of both the sects and

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[1] Jinabhadra Kṣamāśramaṇa (c 500 600 A. D.) explains it as—

गुरुविरहम्मि य ठवणा गुरूवएसोवदंसणत्थ च ।
जिणविरहम्मि व जिणविंबसेवणाऽमन्तणं सहलं ॥

—*Viśesāvaśyaka mahābhāsya*

Devendrasūri in his *Samghācāra tikā*, in the section, Guruvandana-bhāṣya, says —

गुरुगुणजुत्तं तु गुरुं ठाविज्जा अहव तत्थ अक्खाई ।
अहवा नाणाइतिअ ठविज्ज सक्ख-गुरु-अभावे ॥ २८ ॥

The following from *Pindaniryukti* explains the Sthāpanā —

तं विंति नामपिंडं ठवणापिंड अओ वोच्छ ॥ ६ ॥ p 3
अक्खे वराडए वा कट्ठे पुत्थे व चित्त कम्मे वा ।
सब्भावमसब्भावं ठवणापिंड वियाणाहि ॥ ७ ॥ p. 6.

Commentary of मल्यगिरि—" स्थाप्यमानस्येन्द्रादेरनुरूपाङ्गोपाङ्गचिह्नवाहनप्रहरणादिपरिकररूपो य आकारविशेषो यद्दर्शनात्साक्षाद्विद्यमान इवेन्द्रादिर्लक्ष्यते स सद्भाव, तदभावोऽसद्भाव., तत्र सद्भावमसद्भावं चाश्रित्य 'अक्षे' चन्दनके 'कपर्दे' वराटके वाशब्दोऽङ्गुलीयकादिसमुच्चयार्थः, उभयत्रापि च जातावेकवचनं, तथा 'काष्ठे' दारुणि 'पुस्ते' छिउल्लिकादौ, वाशब्दो लेप्यपाषाणसमुच्चये, चित्रकर्मणि वा या पिण्डस्य स्थापना साऽक्षादि. काष्ठादिष्वाकारविशेषो वा पिण्डत्वेन स्थाप्यमानः स्थापना पिण्ड....... ।

इक्को उ असब्भावे तिण्हं ठवणा उ होइ सब्भावे ।
चित्तेसु असब्भावे दारुअलेप्पोवले सियरो ॥ ७ ॥ (भाष्यगाथा)

—*Pindaniryukti* (DLPF. No. 44, A. D. 1918), pp. 3-7.

can be seen on stone sculptures also, at Deogoḍh (fig. 43), Ābu, Kumbhāriā and other places. Whether the motif existed at Mathurā, Kaṅkāli Ṭīlā, or not is not known, but the symbol preceding the maṅgala-kalaśa in the lower panel of the Āyāgapaṭṭa of Sīhavāṇika (Coomaraswamy, HIIA, fig. 70) comes very near this conception. (However, it is equally probable that it represented the bhadrāsana).

Sthāpanā is, therefore, a pretty old practice, referred to by Jinabhadra gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa as quoted above, and by the Anuyogadvāracūrṇi, which mentions the accessories for a sādhu in the practice of dharma, they are: ṭhavaṇā (sthāpanā), muhapatti (mukhapaṭṭikā), daṇḍa paunchaṇam (daṇḍa-proñchanaka) and javamālia (japamālikā). The sthāpanā is for the practice of the virtue of vinaya or showing respect to and obedience to the elders.

The *mukhapattikā*, a piece of cloth held in front of the mouth by a Jaina monk while speaking, is a symbol of saṃyama or control of speech and also is understood as prescribed for preventing insects from entering the mouth and being killed.[1] The Mukhapaṭṭikā, or a month piece, is a very ancient Jaina practice used by Gautama, the gaṇadhara of Mahāvīra.[2] The Bṛhat-kalpa-bhāṣya prescribes its size,[3] which is equal to sixteen aṅgulas and is then folded so as to appear as a small square piece to be held in front of the mouth.

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[1] Discussed in *Pañcavastu prakarana*, Yatidinacaryā, *Oghaniryuktivṛtti*, etc., where the following gāthā is usually quoted —

संपाइमरयरेणुपमज्जणट्ठा वयंति मुहपत्तिं ।
नासं मुहं च बंधइ, तीए वसहिं पमज्जंतो ॥

[2] Vivāgasuyam, I adhyayana.

[3] चउरंगुलं विहत्थी एयं मुहणंतगस्स उ पमाणं ।
बितीय पि य पमाणं मुहप्पमाणेण कायव्वं ॥

—Bṛhatkalpa-bhāṣya, Vol 4, v 3982

Cf. *Pindaniryukti* (DLPF. no 44, Bombay, A D 1918) with comm of Malayagiri, p. 13 —

पायस्स पडोयारो दुनिसिज्ज तिपट्ट पोत्ति रयहरणं ।
एए उ न वीसामे जयणा संकामणा धुवण ॥ २८ ॥

Comm.—प्रत्यवतार्यते पात्रमस्मिन्निति प्रत्यवतार.—उपकरणं पात्रस्य प्रत्यवतार.-पात्रवर्जः पात्रनिर्योगः षड्विधः, तथा रजोहरणस्य सत्के द्वे निषद्ये, तद्यथा—बाह्या अभ्यन्तरा च, इह सम्प्रति दशि-कामिः सह या दण्डिका क्रियते सा सूत्रनीत्या केवलैव भवति न सदशिका, तस्या निषद्याद्वयं, तत्र या दण्डिकाया उपरि एकहस्तप्रमाणायामा तिर्यग्वेष्टकत्रयपृथुत्वा कम्बलीखण्डरूपा सा आद्या निषद्या, तिर्यग् बहुभिर्वेष्टकैरावेष्टयन्ती किञ्चिदधिकहस्तप्रमाणायामा हस्तप्रमाणमात्रपृथुत्वा वस्त्रमयी निषद्या सा अभ्यन्तरा निषद्योच्यते, तृतीया तु तस्या एवाभ्यन्तरनिषद्यायास्तिर्यग्वेष्टकान् कुर्वती चतुरङ्गुलाधिकैकहस्तमाना चतुरस्रा कम्बलमयी भवति, सा चोपवेशनोपकारित्वादधुना पादप्रोञ्छनकमिति रूढा, सा बाह्या निषद्येत्य-

The *daṇḍaproñchanaka* is so called because it is a broom with a stick, it is also known as a *rajoharana* as it is used to sweep dust particles and small living insects.[1] Haribhadra says that it is 32 aṅgulas in length of which the stick is 24 aṅgulas and the front part (gucchā) of the remaining aṅgulas is made of twisted (strings of) fibres of wool. According to the Bṛhatkalpa-sūtra it was made of any one of the following five fibres—wool, hair of camel, jute (śāṇaka), fibres of valkala or strings prepared by twisting the muñja grass.

The *japamālikā* is the rosary of beads of conch, sandal, corals, crystals, gems, gold or silver

The mukhapaṭṭikā, rajoharaṇa and the rosary carried by a Jaina monk can be seen in fig. 48 which is a sculpture of Nanna-sūri, installed in V. S. 1393, now in worship in a shrine at Sādadi in Rājasthāna. The rajoharaṇa is shown behind the head of the monk in this sculpture, but he usually carries it in his hand, while walking.

Symbols like the Wheel of Law (*Dharma-cakra*) need not be discussed here. Representations of the Wheel of Law, on Jaina pedestals from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā show that the Wheel was placed on a platform or a pillar, often with the rim to front, and worshipped on both sides by the members of the Saṃgha (śrāvaka, śrāvikā, sādhu and sādhvī). A Wheel on a pillar is also shown on one of the Āyāgapatas discussed above. In later worship, it is placed in the centre of pedestals, but flanked by a deer on each side. Rarely the Wheel was separately installed as an object of worship in Jaina shrines. This is inferred from an early bronze of a Wheel, illustrated in fig. 15, obtained along with a hoard of Jaina bronzes from Chausā, near Buxur in Bihar, and now preserved in the Patna museum The *cakra* is assignable to late Kuṣāṇa age. A similar separate a bronze of a *Caitya-vṛksa* was also obtained in this hoard.

It may be remembered that, only the *Sthāpanā* and the *Dharma-cakra* (and the *Caitya-vṛkṣa*), from the symbols noted above, obtain worship in Jaina shrines. The rajoharana or the rosary are here incidentally discussed, since the sthāpanā is intimately associated with Jaina monks who keep these other accessories.

मिधीयते, मिलितं च निषधात्रयं दण्डिकासहितं रजोहरणमुच्यते, ततो रजोहरणस्य सर्के द्वे निषद्ये इति न विरूध्यते, तथा त्रयः पट्टाः तद्यथा—संस्तारकपट्टः, उत्तरपट्टः, चोलपट्टश्च, एते च सुप्रतीताः, तथा 'पोत्ति'त्ति मुखपोतिका, मुखपिधानाय पोतं—वस्त्रं मुखपोतं मुखपोतमेव ह्रस्वं चतुरङ्गुलाधिकवितस्तिमात्रप्रमाणत्वात् मुखपोतिका, मुखवस्त्रिकेत्यर्थः . . .... ।

1 Cf. :—हरइ रयं जीवाणं बज्झं अब्भंतरं च जं तेणं ।
रयहरणं ति पवुच्चइ कारणकज्जोवयाराओ ॥ also, Bṛhat-kalpa-bhāṣya, v.3674.

On Aṣṭāpada mountain Ṛṣabhadeva attained his nirvāṇa. Near his cremation-ground Bharata erected a temple, of jewelled slabs, named Simhaniṣadyā, with statues of the Śāśvata-Jinas as also the twenty-four Jinas of this age. Bharata also installed statues of his ninety-nine brothers who had obtained Nirvāṇa, on this mountain, along with Rsabhanātha. Moreover, he placed a statue of himself listening attentively like a faithful devotee Bharata raised the Blessed One's (Ṛṣabha's) Stūpa and those of his 99 brothers outside the shrine. In order to save these from future damage at the hands of mortals, he placed mechanical iron guardsmen, cutting off the projections of the mountain, he made it steep and straight, and impossible for men to climb. He then made eight (*asta*) steps (*pada*) around it in the form of terraces impossible for men to cross and each step one yojana apart from the next one From that time the mountain was called Aṣṭāpada. Among the people it was known as 'Harādri' 'Kailāsa,' and Sphatikādri [1]

Such is the origin of the name of the mount Aṣṭāpada according to Hemacandra. The Vasudevahiṇḍi [2] tells us how Aṣṭāpada came to be regarded as a tīrtha and says that here Bharata erected stūpas and shrine, and installed images therein when Rsabha obtained nirvāna on this mount with a thousand monks The text does not give any explanation of the name Aṣṭāpada. Aṣtapada is an old Jaina tīrtha since it is referred to by the Jambudvīpa-prajñapti [3] and the Ācārānga-Niryukti [4]

Gautama, the first Ganadhara of Mahāvīra, was told by his Master that whoever is able to reach the top of this mountain and worship the Caityas thereon obtains emancipation. He, therefore, with his supernatural power, climbed it like a flash of light Some tāpasas (Brahmanical monks !) were attempting to do so and could not go beyond the third terrace. At the sight of Gautama, they got enligntenment and obtained liberation Gautama reached the top and, entering the Simhaniṣadyā-Caitya by the South gate, he

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1 *Trisasti*, (GOS) I , pp. 358-370 , *Abhidhāna Cintāmani*, IV. 94

2 *Vasudevahindi*, p 301. Gods are said to have created on the site of Rsabha's Nirvāna on Asṭāpada, three stūpas of jewels, see Jambudvīpa-prajñapti, sūtra 33

3 *Jambu* , *op cit.*

4 Cf :—अट्ठावयमुज्जिंते गयग्गपद धम्मचक्के य ।
पासरहावत्तनगं चमरुप्पायं च वंदामि ॥

—*Ācārānga-Niryukti*.

first saw images of the four Jinas beginning with Sambhava, and worshipped them. At the West-entrance he worshipped the eight Tīrthaṅkaras beginning with Supārśva, entering by the North gate he could worship the ten Jinas beginning with Dharmanātha. From the Eastern doorway of the shrine, he worshipped the first two Jinas, Ṛṣabha and Ajitanātha [1]

Thus it will be seen that the Siṁhaniṣadyā is a Caumukha shrine with four doorways and having in the centre a platform on which the Jinas are represented in the order described above and worshipped by Gautama. In Śvetāmbara Jaina temples, sometimes, a cell is dedicated to this Aṣṭāpada represented in the way shown above. A representation of Aṣṭāpada of this type, with the Gautama shown climbing, and the tāpasas on the way, is seen in a shrine on the mount Śatruñjaya in Saurāṣṭra. Smaller representations, only of the Jinas on four sides of a pītha, arranged in the above order, are more common, one such may be seen in a Jaina shrine at Surat All these are later mediaeval representations while earlier ones are not traced hitherto though it may be inferred that Citra-paṭas of the tīrthas like Śatruñjaya and Aṣṭāpada might have been in use even before, since the avacūri on samavasarana-stava refers at least to the patas of the samavasarana structure

The Digambara sect also believes that Ṛṣabha obtained Nirvāna on this mountain and that Bharata erected a memorial shrine on the cremation ground But such representations—plaques, paintings or sculptures—are not yet traced, though a proper search is likely to disclose some kind of representation of the Astāpada amongst the Digambaras

Similarly, representations of Sammeta-Śikhara are also worshipped in Jaina shrines, a famous example of which is available in the triple-Jaina shrine built by Vastupāla-Tejapāla on Mount Girnār Such representations are known as 'avatāra' or 'uddhāra' of a particular tīrtha in Śvetambara Jaina terminology A small plaque, representing "avatāra" of the two tīrthas of Satruñjaya and Girnār, now in worship in a shrine at Varkhāṇā in Rājasthān, is illustrated in figure 59

Representations of Pañca-Meru mountains of different dvīpas, showing a Siddhāyatana (suggested by a four-fold Jina image) on each tier, one above the other (in five tiers) and surmounted by a finial, are more common amongst the Digambaras. One such Pañca-Meru is also obtained in a Śvetāmbara shrine, in the Hastiśālā of the Lūṇa-vasahī Mt Ābu The five Merus are Sudarśana in the midst of Jambudvīpa, Vijaya in eastern Dhātakikhaṇḍa-dvīpa, Acala in

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1 *Astāpada-giri-kalpa*, by Jinaprabha sūri, pub. in the *Vividha-Tīrtha-kalpa*, pp. 91-93. Also see, *Ibid*, p. 31 for an *Astāpadamahātīrthakalpa* by Dharmaghoṣa sūri. *Abhidhāna-Rajendra-Kośa*, Vol. I on अट्ठावय.

western Dhātakikhaṇḍa-dvīpa, Mandara in eastern Puṣkarārdha-dvīpa and Vidyunmālī in the western Puṣkarārdha-dvīpa. According to the Digambara belief, in all there are 80 siddhāyatanas (eternal shrines or shrines of siddhas) on the five Merus. A Digambara Pañca-Meru bronze, installed in V. S. 1514 (= 1456 A.D.), now in worship in a shrine in Surat, is illustrated here in fig. 78.

11. NANDĪŚVARA-DVĪPA

Nandīśvara-dvīpa is known to both the sects. It is the last of the numerous concentric island-continents of Jaina cosmography, the first or the central one being the Jambū dvīpa. The Nandīśvara is a land of delight of the gods with gardens of manifold designs, adorned and honoured by the visits of gods devoted to the worship of the Tīrthaṅkaras. In its central parts are the four Añjana mountains of black colour, situated in the four directions—Devaramaṇa in the east, Nityodyota in the south, Svayamprabha in the west, and Ramaṇīya in the north. On their tops are temples of the Arhats (Tīrthaṅkaras), one hundred yojanas long, half as wide and seventy yojanas high, each shrine having four doors. Within the temples are jewelled platforms, sixteen yojanas long and wide, and eight yojanas high. On the platforms (*maṇipīṭhaka*) are daises (*devacchandaka*) of jewel whose length and width exceed that of the platforms and on whom are one hundred and eight eternal statues (*Śāśvata-bimba*) each of the four Eternal Arhats (*Śāśvata-Jina*) named *Ṛṣabha*, *Varddhamāna*, *Candrānana* and *Vāriṣeṇa* in the paryaṅka-posture, made of jewels, attended each by a beautiful retinue consisting of two Nāgas, two Yakṣas, two Bhūtas and two pitcher-carriers while behind each statue is a figure of an umbrella-bearer. On the daises are incense-burners, wreaths, bells, the eight auspicious marks, banners, festoons, baskets, boxes and seats as well as sixteen ornaments such as full pitchers etc.

There are gleaming entrance-pavilions (*mukha-maṇḍapa*) of the size of temples, theatre-pavilions (*prekṣā-maṇḍapa*), arenas (*akṣavāṭaka*), jewelled platforms, beautiful stūpas, and statues, fair caitya-trees, indradhvajas and divine lotus-lakes in succession.

In the four directions from each of the Añjana Mountains there are big square lotus-lakes, Nandiseṇa, Amogha, Gostupa etc, and beyond them are great gardens named Aśoka, Saptaparṇa, Campaka and Cūta. Within the sixteen lotus-lakes are the crystal Dadhimukha mountains, each having a Śāśvata-Jinālaya with images of Śāśvata-Jinas described above. Between each two lakes are two Ratikara mountains making a total of thirty-two Ratikara moun-

[1] *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpurusacarita*, I (GOS. Vol. LI), pp 395-397, *Triṣaṣṭi*. parvas II-III (GOS. Vol. LXXVII), pp. 120 ff; *Harivaṁśa* of Jinasena, sarga 5, vv. 647-685, pp. 122-124; *Trilokasāra* of Nemicandra, vv. 960 ff. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, pp. 253 ff, Ramacandran, T N, *Tiruparuttikunram and its Temples*, pp. 181; also see, *Sthānāṅga Sūtra*, 4.2 sū 307, Vol. I, pp. 229 ff; *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, p. 397 f.

tains These mountains agian have thirty-two Śāśvata-Jinālayas on them. This makes a total of fifty-two such Eternal Temples of the Arhats on the Nandīśvara-dvīpa. Here and elsewhere on the Nandīśvara-dvīpa Indra and other gods celebrate eight-days' festival every year on different holy (parva) days.

Works on cosmography like the Laghukṣetrasamāsa of Ratnaśekhara expressly state that there are fifty-two Śāśvata-Caityālayas, thirteen in each of the four directions, on the Nandīśvara-dvīpa.[1] A diagrammatic representation of it generally shows in a circle, a group of thirteen miniature shrines in each direction, with a mountain in the centre. This does not seem to be a faithful representation of the description obtained in works on cosmography since the central mountain also has Śāśvata-Jinālayas on it.[2]

In various temples and palaces of the Nandīśvara-dvīpa, gods together with their retinue, celebrate the *Aṣṭāhnika mahotsava* (eight-days' festival) on holy days of the holy Arhats After celebrating the *Kalyāṇaka-ceremony* (or the festival of any of the five chief events in the life of every Jina) gods retire to this dvīpa, worship the caityas thereon and then return to their respective abodes.[3]

Plaques or paṭas representing the 52 shrines on the Nandīśvara are very popular amongst both the sects The Digambaras represent 52 small figures of the Jinas (suggesting 52 shrines) on a four-tiered platform or in a miniature shrine, both the types being four-faced, as illustrated by T N Ramchandran in his Tiruparuttikuṇram and its Temples, pl xxxi figs 3-4, p 181 The Śvetāmbaras represent 52 miniature shrines in four groups of thirteen each, carved in relief on a stone plaque, and arranged in different artistic ways A beautiful Śvetāmbara plaque worshipped in the famous Caumukha shrine at Rāṇakpur is illustrated in Fig 89 (also see, JISOA., Vol IX, (1941), pl V, p 48) Here the Jinālayas are grouped in a beautiful geometric pattern while the intervening spaces at four ends are filled with representations of

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[1] Cf तत्तो दुगुणपमाणा चउदारा थुत्तवणिअसरूवे ।
णंदिसरि बावन्ना चउ कुंडलि रूअगि चत्तारि ॥ २५८ ॥
Laghu-Ksetrasamāsa, pp 418 ff

[2] Also see, *Jīvājīvābhigama sūtra*, 3 2. sū. 183, pp 356 for an early account of the Nandīśvara-dvīpa

[3] Cf. *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, p. 151, *Jambudvīpa-prajñapti*, I 2 sū. 33, p 158, *Triṣaṣṭi* I, *op. cit.*, pp. 130 f., Ramachandran, *op cit*, p. 181.

Cf. —फाल्गुनाष्टाह्निकाद्येषु प्रतिवर्षं तु पर्वसु ।
शक्राद्याः कुर्वते पूजा गीर्वाणास्तेषु वेश्मसु ॥ *Harivamśa*, p. 124, v. 680.

Caitya-trees, with worshippers near their roots [1] Another paṭa of this dvīpa, installed by one Dhāndhala in V. S. 1287 (1230 A.D.) is preserved in a cell in the main shrine on Mt. Girnār, but the number of shrines on the plaque exceeds the usual figure of 52. The first paṭa does not seem to be a correct representation of the position of the Śāśvata-Caityālayas according to their geographical positions in the dvīpa Both the plaques are not representation of the Nandīśvaradvīpa as such, but are rather paṭas of the Śāśvata-Caityālayas only on the dvīpa, and omit representations of lakes, palaces, etc., on the island.

The Nandīśvara-dvīpa has been held very sacred by both the sects who install stone and metal sculptures or plaques of it in Jaina shrines. The subject presents scope of showing varieties for the artist and paintings of the same were not unknown.

Ramachandran has published a metal sculpture of the N-dvīpa, [2] pyramidal in shape, rising in six tiers with a finial top. Thirteen Jinas are shown as sitting in padmāsana on each side. He has also published a bigger stone sculpture [3] of the N-dvīpa, shaped like a vimāna, superimposed on a square base, the sides of which reveal Jinas (Siddhas) seated in meditation. The Vimāna has on each side a niche surmounted by an arch with a figure of a Jina sitting in it. A finial surmounts the whole, giving it a dignified appearance of a Jina bhavana. Fig. 63 illustrated here represents a modern bronze of N-dvīpa in worship in a Digambara shrine in Kolhapur. Since the N-dvīpa, with its 52 Śāśvata Jinālayas, has been a favourite resort of gods for festivals [4] and worship, it has naturally become a favourite symbol of worship of the Eternal images, by the pious śrāvakas and śrāvikās The figure 52 became so popular that a group of smaller cells, 52 in number, were often erected round a main shrine One of the penances practised by the pious Jainas is known as Nandīśvara-(pankti) vrata [5] in the Digambara tradition. A similar N-tapa practised by the Śvetāmbaras along with pūjā of the Nandīśvara-paṭa is referred to by the Pravacana-sāroddhāra. [6]

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[1] Such relief-plaques can be classed as *Citra-Paṭas*, see Shah U P., *Varddhamāna-Vidyā-Paṭa*, Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art, Vol IX. (1941), p 48.

[2] *Tiruparuttikunram and its Temples*, p 181, pl XXI, Fig 3

[3] Ramacandran, *Ibid*, pl. XXXI, Fig. 4., p. 181.

[4] *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, pp 87, 153, 171, 236 According to Digambara traditions, the gods celebrate them in the last week of the months of Kārttika, Fālguna, and Āṣāḍha every year, see, *Bṛhat-Jaina-Śabdārṇava*, II, p. 512.

[5] *Bṛhat-Jaina-Śabdārṇava*, Vol. II. p. 512.

[6] *Pravacana-sāroddhāra*, gāthā 1552 and commentary.

APPENDIX

Note on Stūpa, Samavasarana and Ziggurat

On pp. 56-57, and p. 93, it is suggested that the Jaina "Samavasaraṇa is based upon the architecture of a Stūpa which latter has for its prototype that of the Ziggurat with three or more tiers".

The tiered-shrines, illustrated by Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, figures 69, 69A, may be compared with the Samavasaraṇa illustrated in fig 76 and the Pañca-Meru, fig 78. It may be remembered that the Samavasaraṇa is not always circular It is either square or circular.

On p 56, I have further said that such tiered shrines have for their basis the conception of *Jāṭūka* or Ziggurat (or Aidūka) discussed by Dr. Agrawala.

The Ziggurat is a peculiar feature of Sumerian architecture which can be traced back, according to Woolley, to the chalcolithic Al'Ubaid period [1]

In form the Ziggurat is a stepped pyramid having three stages. The lowest stage measures about 200 ft long × 150 ft. wide × 50 ft. high, at Ur-Nammu.[2] "From this rose the upper stages, each smaller than the one below, leaving broad passages along the main sides and wider terraces at either end. On the topmost stage stood the little one-roomed shrine of the Moon-God.... On three sides the walls (of this Ziggurat of Ur-Nammu) rose to the level of the first terrace, but on the north-east face fronting the Nannar temple was the approach to the shrine Three brick stairways, each of a hundred steps, led upwards, one projecting out at right angles from the building, two leaning against its wall, and all converging in a great gateway between the first and the second terrace .."[3]

Of the Ziggurat of Babylon (The Tower of Babel), only the ground-plan survives, but being almost identical with that of Ur, and also built by Ur-

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[1] Woolley, Sir Leonard, *Excavations at Ur*, (London, 1954), p. 125. For a front view of the Ziggurat of Ur-Nammu with the triple stairs in front, see, *Ibid*, pl 18, and p. 130, fig 7, conjectural reconstruction of the same Ziggurat, and p. 218, fig 18 for a reconstruction of the Ziggurat of Nabonidus.

According to Frankfort and others, no Ziggurat belonging to the third millenium B C. is known to us, and that from the Third Dynasty of Ur onwards, Ziggurats occur regularly, see, Frankfort, Henri, *The Art and Architecture of the Orient*, (London 1954), p. 236, n. 19.

[2] Woolley, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

[3] Woolley, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-131, and fig 7, also, pl. 18b.

Nammu, it had possibly the same elevation [1] The Tower of Babel, according to the account of Herodotus, had seven terraces, though originally it had only two or three of them.[2]

Representations of two-staged Ziggurats, on seals, are not unknown in the Protoliterate period at Warka.[3] As shown by Frankfort even the Early Dynastic shrines stood on plinths or platforms and that the Early Dynastic seals showing the building of a high temple may represent platforms as well as Ziggurats.[4]

The temple tower or the Ziggurat was a sacred structure The names of some of them, known in later times, indicate that they were intended, not merely to resemble, but to be *mountains*. The Ziggurat of the storm god Enlil was called, " House of the Mountain, Mountain of the Storm, Bond between Earth and Heaven ". In Mesopotamia, " mountain was a religious concept of many-sided significance. It stood for the whole earth, and within it, therefore were concentrated the mysterious powers of life which bring forth vegetation in spring and autumn, and carry water to dry river beds....The mountain, then, was the habitual setting in which the superhuman became manifest, and the Sumerian, in erecting their Ziggurats with immense common effort, created conditions under which communication with the divine became possible "[5]

The Ziggurat was also the Mount of the Dead. As Frankfort puts it, " In Mesopotamia, the mountain is the place where the mysterious potency of the Earth, and hence of natural life, is concentrated... As personifications of natural life they were thought to be incapacitated during the Mesopotamian summer, which is a scourge destroying vegetation utterly exhausting man and beast. The myths express this by saying that the God dies or that he is kept captive in the mountain. From the mountain he comes forth at the new year when nature revives. Hence the Mountain is also the Land of the Dead "[6]

In Mesopotamia, although not all sanctuaries included a temple tower or Ziggurat, all were given a token elevation above the soil. A temple at Al' Uqair, which was contemporary with the temple on the Anu Ziggurat at Warka, stood on a platform but fifteen feet high and, like the latter, rose in two

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[1] For structures beside these Ziggurats, see, Woolley, *op. cit*, p. 134 On the terraces of the Ziggurats were 'hanging gardens' as well.

[2] Frankfort, *op. cit.*, p 108

[3] Frankfort, *op. cit*, p 10.

[4] Frankfort, *op.cit*, p. 236, n. 19.

[5] Frankfort, *Ibid*, p 6, also, Woolley, *op cit.*, p. 125.

[6] Frankfort Henri, *The Birth of Civilisation in the Near East* (London, 1951), pp. 54-55.

distinct stages. After discussing the characteristics of the two Protoliterate shrines at Warka and Al'Uqair, Frankfort writes: "The significance of the Ziggurat was symbolical, and the symbolism could be expressed in more than one way. The same idea, which was unequivocally expressed in a high artificial mountain, could also be rendered by a mere platform a few feet high. One might call the platform an abbreviation of the Ziggurat.... in fact, it is more probable, that the platform of the earliest temples at Eridu, of the Al 'Ubaid Period, already represented the sacred mountain."[1]

Thus this Ziggurat or the peculiar raised platform is suggestive of a mountain which symbolises in theology the fountain-head of all life and the refuge of it at death

Ziggurats were in existence in Mesopotamia at least upto 539 B.C. when the Persians under Cyrus defeated Nabonidus of Babylon. The Ziggurats, gradually ruined, would have been known to the people for a few centuries more, especially to the Persian artists

In the sixth and the following centuries, the Achaemenian Dynasty developed a powerful empire which included parts of India, and Mesopotamian region It was through this linking of India and Mesopotamia through Iran that much influence of the latter country could have come to India But India's contact with Sumer are much older and possibly were continuous at least upto the age of the Buddhist *Baveru Jātaka*, which latter suggests direct contacts with Babylon[2] The discovery of the Assyrian gems and godlings from Taxila also suggests contacts between the two countries. This is further supported by the strong Aramaic influence of the clerks of the Persian court which led to the development of the Kharosthī script

Thus it would not seem impossible if even a distant relation between the Ziggurat, the Stūpa and Samavasarana, obvious in plan and elevation, is postulated.

To return to the Stūpa architecture in India The stūpas are essentially relic structures in honour of the dead—the Holy or the Great. The Śatapatha Brāhmana, gives one of the earliest Indian literary reference to relic structures or mounds. The passage is as under :—

"They now do what is auspicious for him. They now prepare a burial place (*smaśāna*) for him to serve him either as a house or a monument.

[1] Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Orient*, p 7.

[2] Especially see, Coomaraswamy's remarks under "Early Asiatic" in his *HIIA.*, pp. 11-14, giving details of the common heritage of Early Asiatic Cultures.

Four-cornered (is the sepulchral mound). Now the Devas and the Asuras, both of them sprung up from Prājapati, were contending in the (four) regions (quarters). The gods drove out the Asuras, their rivals and enemies, from the regions, and, being regionless, they were overcome, wherefore, the people who are godly make their burial places four-cornered, whilst those who are of the Asura nature, the Easterners and others (make them) round, for they (the gods) drove them out from the regions " (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, translated by Julius Eggling in Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 44, pp. 421, 424).

It is, therefore, quite reasonable to expect the stūpas of the heterodox Buddhist and Jaina sects both of which originated in the land of the "Āsuryah Prācyāh" of the Śatapatha, as being round in plan The Daiva or Brahmanical funeral relics should be square in plan Most of the Buddhist stūpas are round while the Hindus even today raise small square terraced structures (with or without a *tulasī*-plant grown on top) over the ashes of the followers of the Brahmanical cult.

A later word, synonymous with a funeral relic structure or stūpa, is Aiḍūka, explained by the author of Amarakośa and Hemacandra as one having, inside it, a bone-relic

Now the Mahābhārata, Vanaparva, 190.65 and 67 says that "The men in the decadent age of Kali will forsake their own gods and worship the *eḍūkas* (65) and the earth will be dotted over with *eḍūka* monuments in place of temples of gods (67) Obviously, the text here refers to stūpas (Aiḍūkas) of the non-Brahmanical cults

According to a variant reading from the Southern Recension, recorded in the Critical Edition of the MBH, the reading is *jālūka* in place of *eḍūka*. Dr. Agrawala[1] has shown that this *jālūka* or *jārūka* was obviously derived from the Ziggurat As shown by him, *eḍūka* or *elūka* was a later indigenous substitute for the original *jārūka* He further quotes the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (commenting on Pāṇini, V 3 101) which refers to *jārukāh ślokāh*, meaning verses pertaining to jārūka (*i.e.* Stūpa) worship, such as are found in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka and other works

That the jārūka or eḍūka (Aiḍūka) was a terraced structure is further proved by him from a reference to Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, III. lxxxiv. 1-4, which makes it a terraced temple in three tiers (*bhadra-pīṭhas*) with a Śiva-linga installed on its top He writes. "As a matter of fact an actual specimen of the eḍūka monument having three terraces and a Śiva-linga at its top has been unearthed at Ahicchatrā....But the traditional structure was certainly

[1] Agrawala, V.S., *Some Foreign Words in Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, J U P.H.S, Vol XXIII (1950), pp. 150-151.

an early one and its range was at one time quite extensive. One of the four kinds of *stūpas* in Serindia was a remarkable quadrangular building in several tiers diminishing in size upwards, like a gigantic staircase."[1] Dr. Agrawala has already noted the structural resemblance between Ziggurat and jārūka-eḍūka.[2]

I may add here an important point of resemblance: the platform on which the Stūpa drum is shown represents a fundamental also of the Ziggurat.

The structural resemblance between Coomaraswamy's HIIA, fig 69A, Agrawala's Ahicchatrā Eḍūka and the Jaina Samavasaraṇa is quite obvious to all. And the authors of the Mahābhārata and the Mahābhāṣya seem to refer to the Jaina and Buddhist Stūpas when they speak of jārūkas (Ziggurats) or eḍūkas.

A study of the descriptions of the Samavasaraṇa noted above will show that the three fortifications are an essential part of the "Assembly-Hall". Represented in stone or metal, the Samavasaraṇa, extending horizontally, is expressed vertically (in elevation) as having three tiers or terraces. Even if it were to be expressed horizontally, the central Gandhakuṭi is to be shown on a platform, on a higher level than the other parts of the Samavasaraṇa.

Now a glance at the Stūpa in the relief from Mathurā illustrated here in fig 6 will show that the Stūpa, with its three railings very closely resembles the Jaina Samavasaraṇa. And why is the Stūpa represented in this way, as if it is a two or three-terraced structure?

The stūpa, or the funeral mound as described by the Śatapatha may or may not be an elaborate structure but, from at least the third century B.C, Indian Stūpas seem to have become elaborate in plan and elevation No such Mauryan stūpa is however known, but the highly ornate stūpas of Śunga Age, from Bhārhut and Sāñchī, suggest that the activity could have started from the Mauryan Age. In the words of Coomaraswamy, a stūpa can be described as follows:

"A stūpa usually rests on a basement of one or more square terraces (*medhi*) or is at least surrounded by a paved square or circle for circumambulation, the terraces being approached by stairs (*sopāna*), it consists of a solid dome (*aṇḍa* or *garbha*) with a triple circular base, and above the dome a cubical "mansion" or "gods' house (*harmikā*, Simh. *deva-kotuva*) from which rises a metal mast (*yaṣṭi*) the base of which penetrates far into the *aṇḍa*, and this mast bears a range of symbolical parasols (*chatra*) and at the top a rain-vase

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[1] Agrawala, *Ibid*, p. 151. For the stūpa in Serindia, see, Encyclopaedia Britanica, 14th ed., 2.526.

[2] Also see, *Ancient India*, No. IV, p. 167.

(*varṣasthala*) corresponding to the kalaśa of the Hindu shrines. The form undergoes stylistic development; at first there is no drum, but later on the circular base becomes a cylinder, and the dome is elevated and elongated, and the base terraces are multiplied."[1]

The Chinese pilgrims speak of certain stūpas as towers. The most remarkable monument of Kaṇiṣka's reign was possibly his great stūpa near Peshawar which, to sum up the various Chinese accounts, consists of a basement in five stages (150 ft.), a superstructure (*stūpa*) of carved wood in thirteen stories (400 ft.), surmounted by an iron column, with 13 to 25 gilt copper umbrellas (88 ft), making a total height of 638 ft.[2]

The description of the stūpas given above, and the account of Kaṇiska's Tower just noted will further support the hypothesis regarding the structural resemblance between Ziggurat and stūpa. Even the early Yakṣa shrines such as the one illustrated in Coomaraswamy's HIIA, fig 69A (if at all it is a Yakṣa shrine and not a memorial shrine) was made after the manner of a Ziggurat, like a mountain or a tower.

The Jaina traditions speak of the first stūpa and shrine, erected by Bharata, on the mountain on which Rsabhanātha obtained the Nirvāṇa. The shrine and the stūpas erected, Bharata made eight terraces (*asta-pada*) between the foot and the top of the mountain hence the name *astāpada* given to the mount. Here also is the underlying conception of the first Jaina shrine being an *eight-terraced mountain*, an eight-terraced Ziggurat, or an eight-terraced stūpa.

Let us take the Sāñchī Stūpa I. The outer railing with the processional path is the first terrace, though on ground level, and expressed horizontally But there is a platform with a railing and a processional path above; and there is the harmikā on the top The stūpa thus retains the characteristic of a Ziggurat

It was possibly because of the fact of Ziggurat being regarded as the prototype of such terraced relic-structures or the elaborate stūpas, that the Mahābhārata and Mahābhāṣya referred to them as Jārūkas.

Nebuchadnezzar and his successor Nabonidus are credited with having repaired old Ziggurats The Ziggurats were standing at least upto 539 B.C as shown above, and though in ruins, must have stood for a few centuries more. They must have been familiar to Indians whose contacts with Sumerian Civilization and Babylon, from the age of Harappa to that of the Baveru

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[1] Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, p 30. cf also, the description of a stūpa in the *Divyāvadāna*, quoted by Foucher, A., L.' Art Gre'co-bouddhique du Gandhāra, Vol. I, p 96.

[2] Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*., p. 53.

Jātaka and later are well-known The structural conception could have appealed to Indians at any stage.

Again, the influence of Persian artists in Aśoka's court cannot be doubted, even though there may be difference of opinions regarding details of such an influence. These artists, could also have been responsible for the introduction of the Ziggurat principle in the architecture of the funeral mounds, the stūpas erected by Aśoka A number of Persian artists would have entered into India, after the destruction of the Achaemenian Empire in the 4th cent. B C.

The extent of influence of the Ziggurat on the stūpa, and (through stūpa) on the Jaina Samavasaraṇa is a different matter, but the influence as such is quite probable and deserves careful consideration

That the Samavasaraṇa is nothing but an adoption of the Stūpa architecture to Jaina theological use is self-evident to those who read the various texts describing the Samavasarana cited in the preceding pages

It was suggested by some scholars that the description of the *Yāna-vimāna*, the heavenly-car, given in the Rayapasenaiyam, sū 45 ff, is an eye-witness account of the Jaina Stūpas of the Kuṣāna age. True it is that descriptions of some of the parts of Yāna-vimāna, can be applied to certain parts of the stūpa, but the constituents or the plan of the Yāna-Vimāna are quite different from that of any stūpa, Descriptions of walls, floors, pillars, reliefs, paintings, etc. would naturally be applicable to the Kuṣāna art specimens, but they do not exhaust the description of the stūpa structure, nor does the plan of the Yāna-Vimāna show any resemblance with the plan of a stūpa.

The long descriptions of the Vimāna or Heavenly abode of Suryābha-deva, in Rayapasenaiyam, sūtras 76 ff are however interesting as they provide us with descriptions of various part of different structures, etc The toraṇa-gateways are elaborately described and the description as well applies to the torana-gateways of a stūpa, a shrine, a palace or a fortification Here in the Sudharma-sabhā of the god we find reference to Caitya-stūpas (sū 124, Becaradasa's ed pp 115 ff) which is the same as found in the Jīvājīvābhigama sūtra etc referred to before The stūpas are said to be mounted on *manipīthikās*

The description of the Vimāna of Suryābha (sūtras 76 ff) is however very interesting as it describes many art motifs of the age (c 300 A D. when the Mathurā vācanā of the Jaina texts took place), but the plan of the elaborate Jaina (or Buddhist) stūpa is not obtained here. This can only be inferred from the account of the Samavasaraṇa.

However, since the Vimāna of Suryābha is a Heavenly abode and since any shrine is a Heavenly abode, we must find some characteristics of Jaina shrines in such descriptions. Every heavenly abode, every Vimāna or Sabhā is to be entered by mounting certain flight of steps And since the Jaina canons apply the same description (*varnaka*) of an object in all contexts, we have to presume that the flights of steps, for a Jaina Stūpa or Samavasaraṇa were also probably regarded to be of the type described in the case of Sudharmā sabhā or Yāna-Vimāna of Suriyābha In this description of the flights of steps, the stairs described as "*tisovānapaḍirūvaga*" (Rāyapasenaiyam, sū 30, p 78, and sū 121, p. 210 f) do not refer to three flights of steps on three different doors, but three flights of stairs near each gateway [1]

Thus the conception of a triple stair is noteworthy as it agrees with the of the triple stair in front of (Ur-Nammu's' Ziggurat, referred to above The Heavenly abode, the abode of the Great, was always adorned with such a triple-stair (*tri-sopāna*) as is shown by the Jaina *varnaka* of sopāna in the Jaina canons Here fortunately we have a very strong proof of the influence of the Ziggurat in India [2]

[1] Cf Rāyapasenaiyam, sū 30, p 78.

[2] We might as well regard such similarities as the common heritage of the Early Asiatic peoples as suggested by Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, pp 11-14, also, p 4.

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Fig 1
Statuette, Harappa

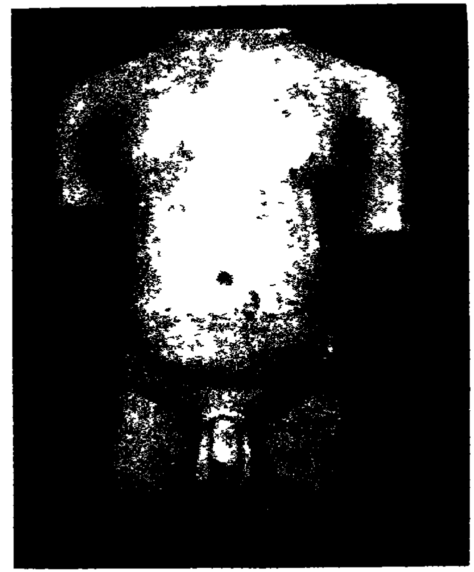


Fig 2
Polished Torso of a Tīrthankara
Lohānipur
(Patna Museum)

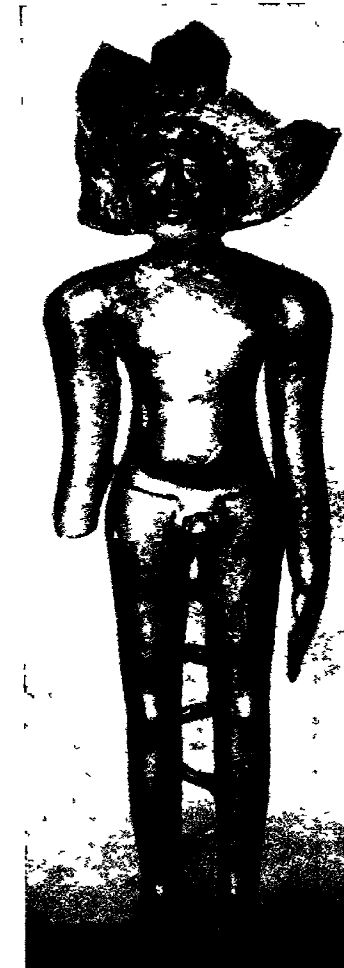


Fig 3
Pārśvanātha
(Prince of Wales Museum)

Plate II



Fig 4 Frieze, Rānī Gumphā, Orissa



Fig 5 Dance of Nīlāñjanā, Mathurā (Lucknow Museum)

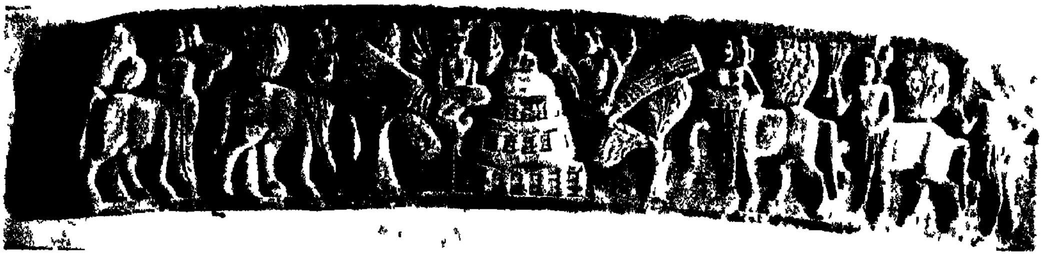


Fig 6 Worship of Stūpa, Mathurā (Lucknow Museum)

Plate III



Fig 7 Āyāgapata of Śivayaśā, Mathurā (Tablet IV)



Fig 8 Pedestal of Munisuvrata, installed in Vodva Stūpa



Fig 9 Pedestal of an image showing worship of Dharmacakra Kankālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā



Fig 10 Āyāgapata of Bhadranandi (Tablet IX)

Figs 7 8 9 10 Mathurā (Lucknow Museum)

Plate IX

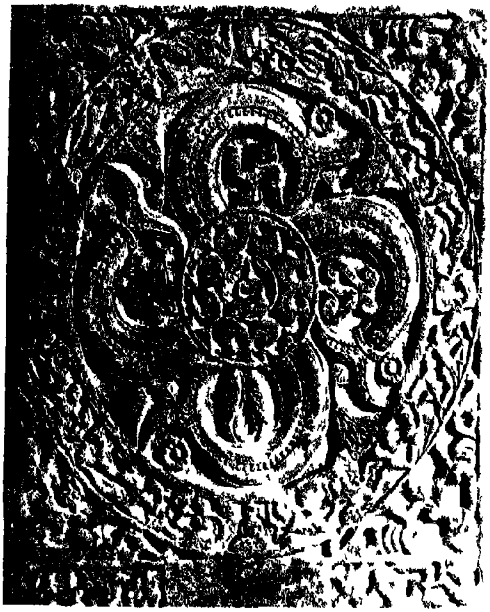


Fig 11 Āyāgapaṭa of unknown donor, Mathurā (Tablet VIII)



Fig [illegible] Āyāgapaṭa [illegible] of Sivaghoshaka Mathurā (Tablet II)

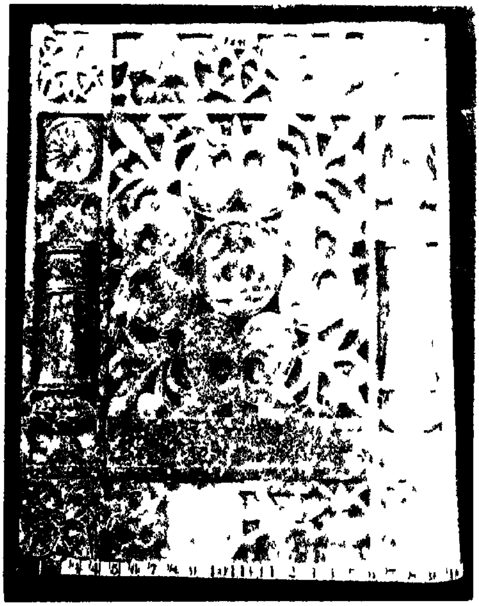


Fig 13 Āyāgapaṭa of Sivamāhī [illegible] Mathurā (Tablet V)

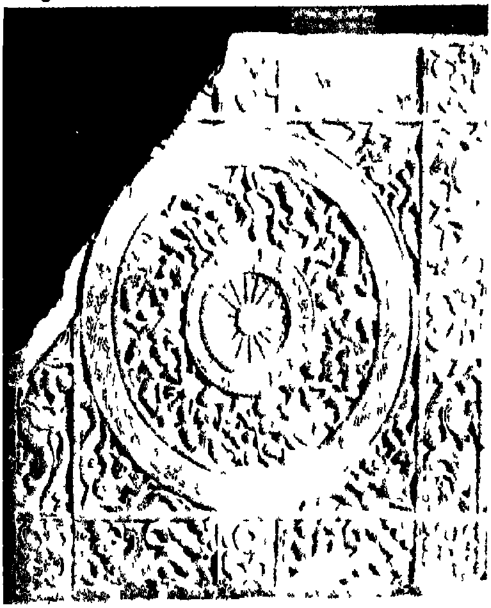


Fig 14 Āyāgapaṭa of [illegible] Mathurā (Tablet [illegible])

Fig 11, 12, 13, 14 now in Lucknow Museum

Plate V

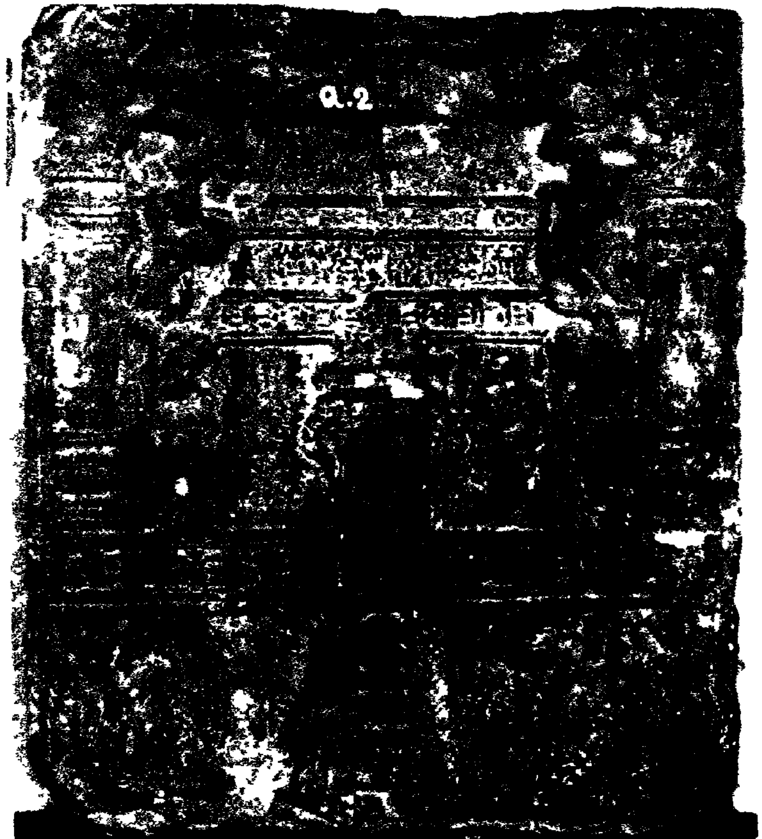


Fig 14B Āyāgapaṭa set up by Vasu, daughter of Loṇasobhikā (Tablet III, Mathurā Museum)



Fig 14A Paṭa of Āryavatī, set up by Āmohini, Mathurā Mathurā (Tablet VII, Lucknow Museum)

Plate VI

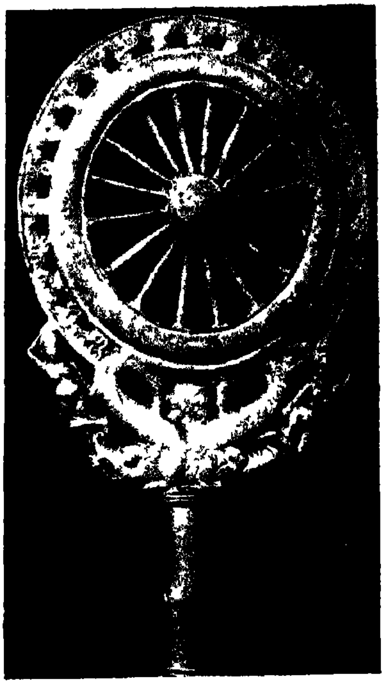


Fig. 15 Bronze Dharmacakra,
Chausā (Patna Museum)



Fig. 17 Ṛṣabhanātha, Bronze,
Chausā (Patna Museum)



Fig. 16 Toraṇa-Archway, Jaina Stupa, Mathurā
(Now Lucknow Museum)

Plate VII



Fig. 18. Image of Neminātha, Vaibhāra Hill, Rājgir

Plate VIII



Fig 17 Ṛṣabhanātha Bronze Akoṭā
(Baroda Museum)

Plate IX





Fig 20 Jīvantasvāmī, Bronze, Akotā (Baroda Museum) Fig 21

Plate X



Fig 22 Jīvantasvāmī inscribed Bronze Akota (Baroda Museum)



Fig 23 Standing Jina, Rājgir



Fig 24 Standing Jina, Besnagar (Gwalior Museum)

Plate XI



Fig 25 Torso of a Jina, Gupta age, Mathurā (Mathurā Museum)



Fig 26 Ṛṣabhanātha, Mathurā (Mathurā Museum)

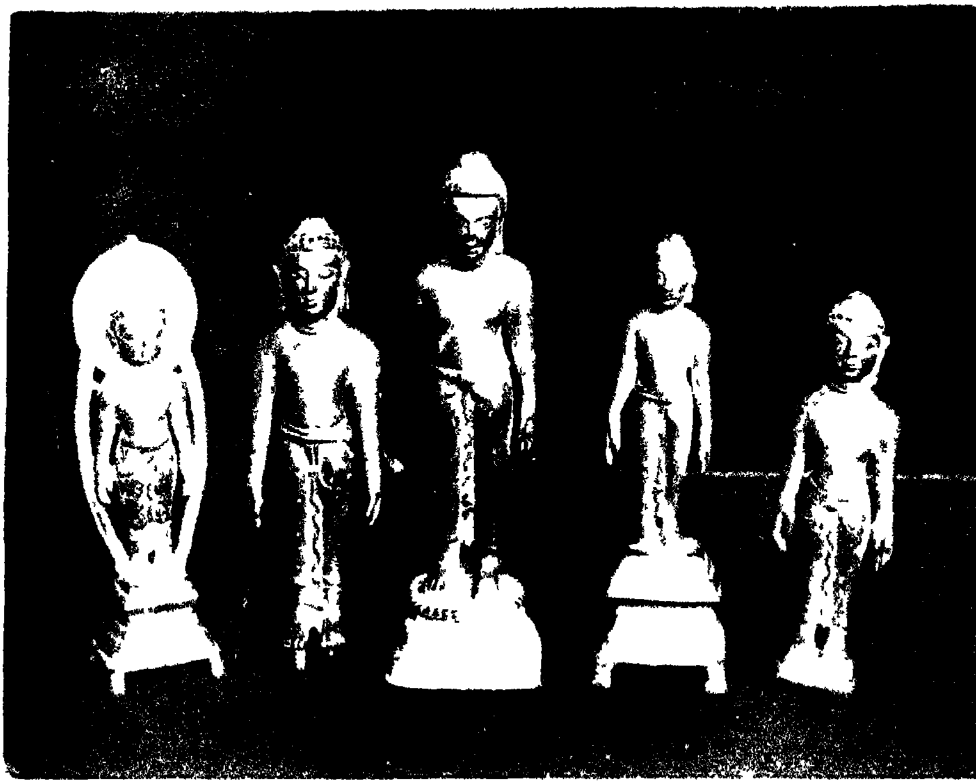


Fig 27 Ṛṣabhanātha, Mathurā (Mathurā Museum)



Fig 28 Chaumukha, showing figure of Sambhavanātha, Son Bhandāra Cave, Rajgir

Plate XII



[illegible]



[illegible]



[illegible] Dhānk



Fig 32 Sarasvatī, Vasantagadh hoard, Pindwāḍā

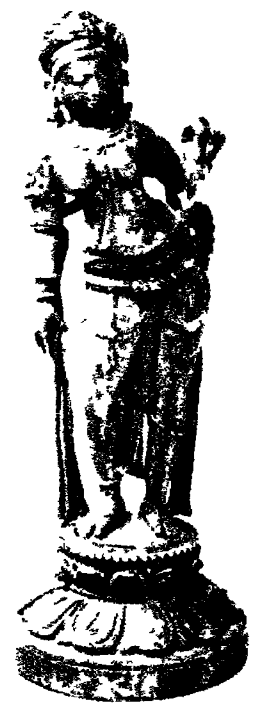


Fig 33 Chaurī bearer, Bronze, Akotā (Baroda Museum)



Fig 34 Sarasvatī, Bronze, Akota (Baroda Museum)

Plate XIV

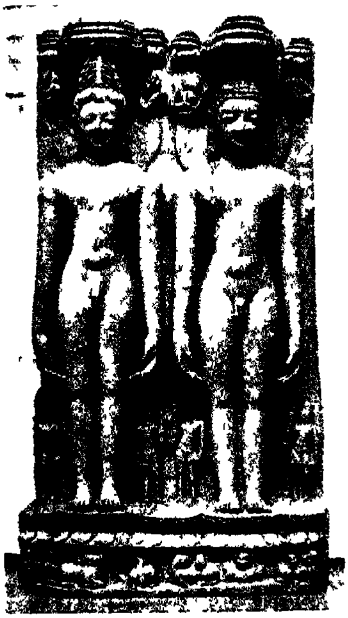


Fig 35 Rsibhanatha & Mahavira,
British Museum London

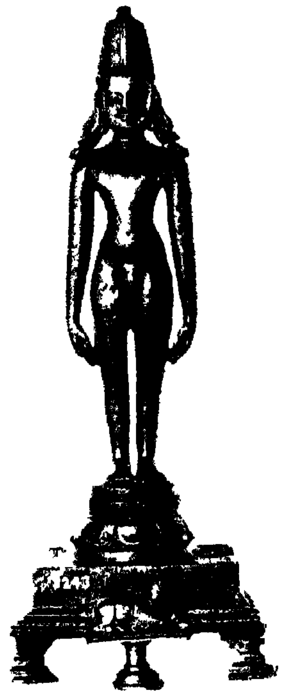


Fig 36 R[illegible]bhanatha B[illegible] Kakat-
pur, O[illegible] Museum)



Fig 37 Chovisi of Adinatha, Surohor
Dinajpur District



Fig 38 Parsvanātha, Bānkurā,
Bahulārā

Plate XV

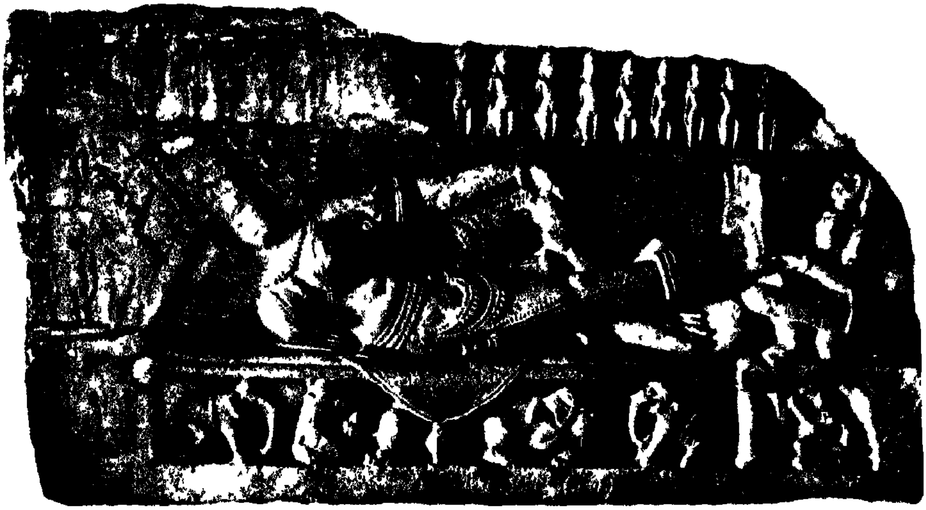


Fig. 39 Mother of Jina, Deogarh Fort, Temple No. 4



Fig. 40 Kubera (?) Yakṣa, Khajurāho



Fig. 41 Padmāvatī (?) Nalanda

Plate XVI



Fig 42 Ṛṣabhanātha from Tripuri
(Indian Museum)



Fig 43 Ṛṣabhanātha, Deogarh
Fort, Temple No 4



Fig 44 Chandraprabha from Bihar
(Indian Museum)

Plate XVII



Fig. 15. Parents of Jina, Khajuraho



Fig. 16. Male and Female under tree, Devagarh Fort



Fig. 17. Ksetrapāla, Devagarh Fort



Fig. 18. Image of Nannasuri, d. 1593 V.S., Sādadī, Mārvād

Plate XVIII

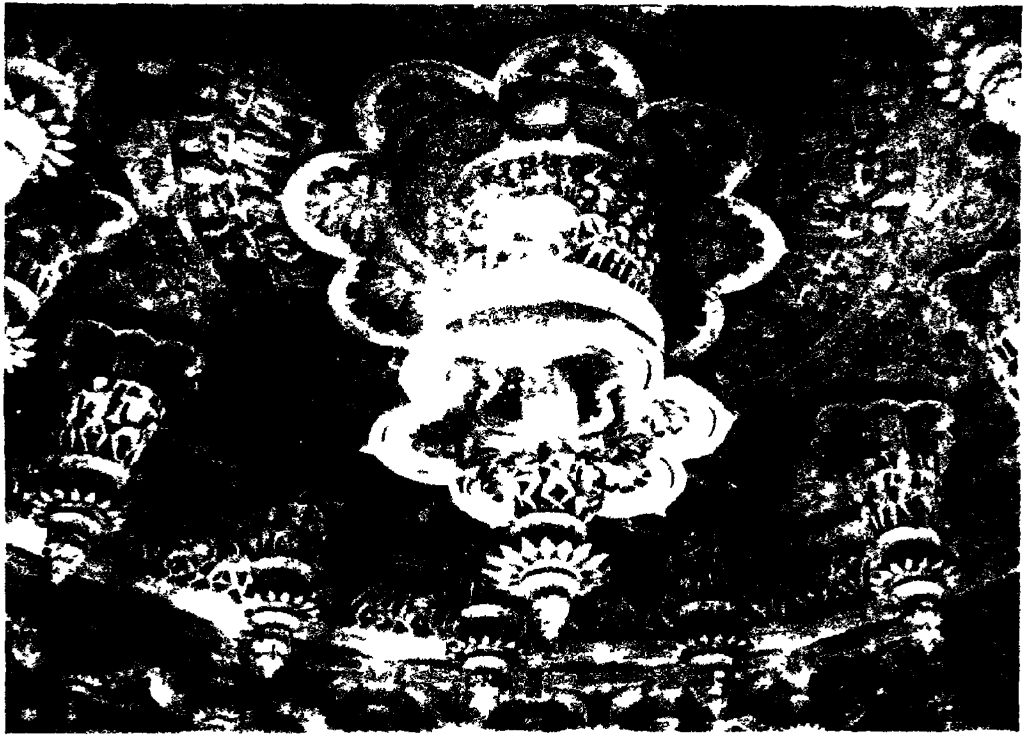


Fig. 49 Lotus pendant, Sabhā Mandapa, Vimala Vasahī, Abu



Fig 50 Prajñapti Vidyādevī, Sabhā Mandapa, Vimala Vasahī, Abu

Plate XIX

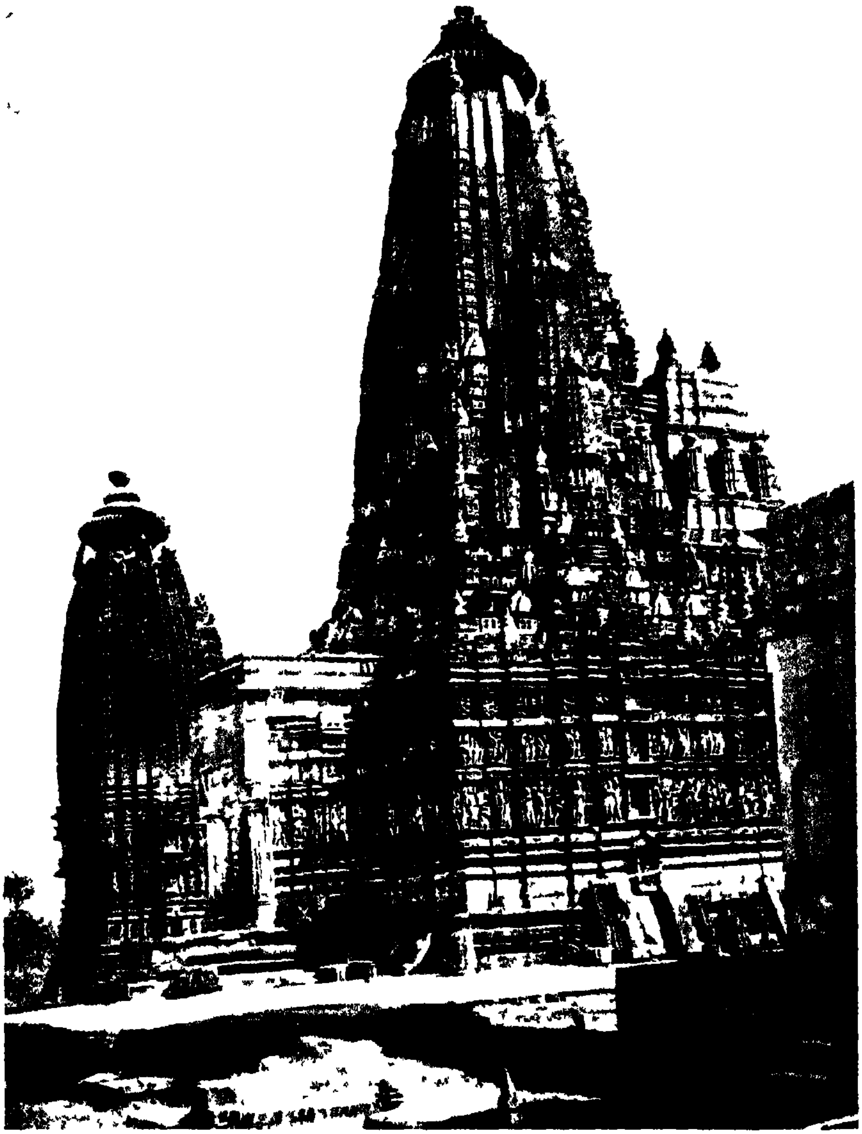


Fig 51 Two Jaina Temples, Khajurāho

Plate XX

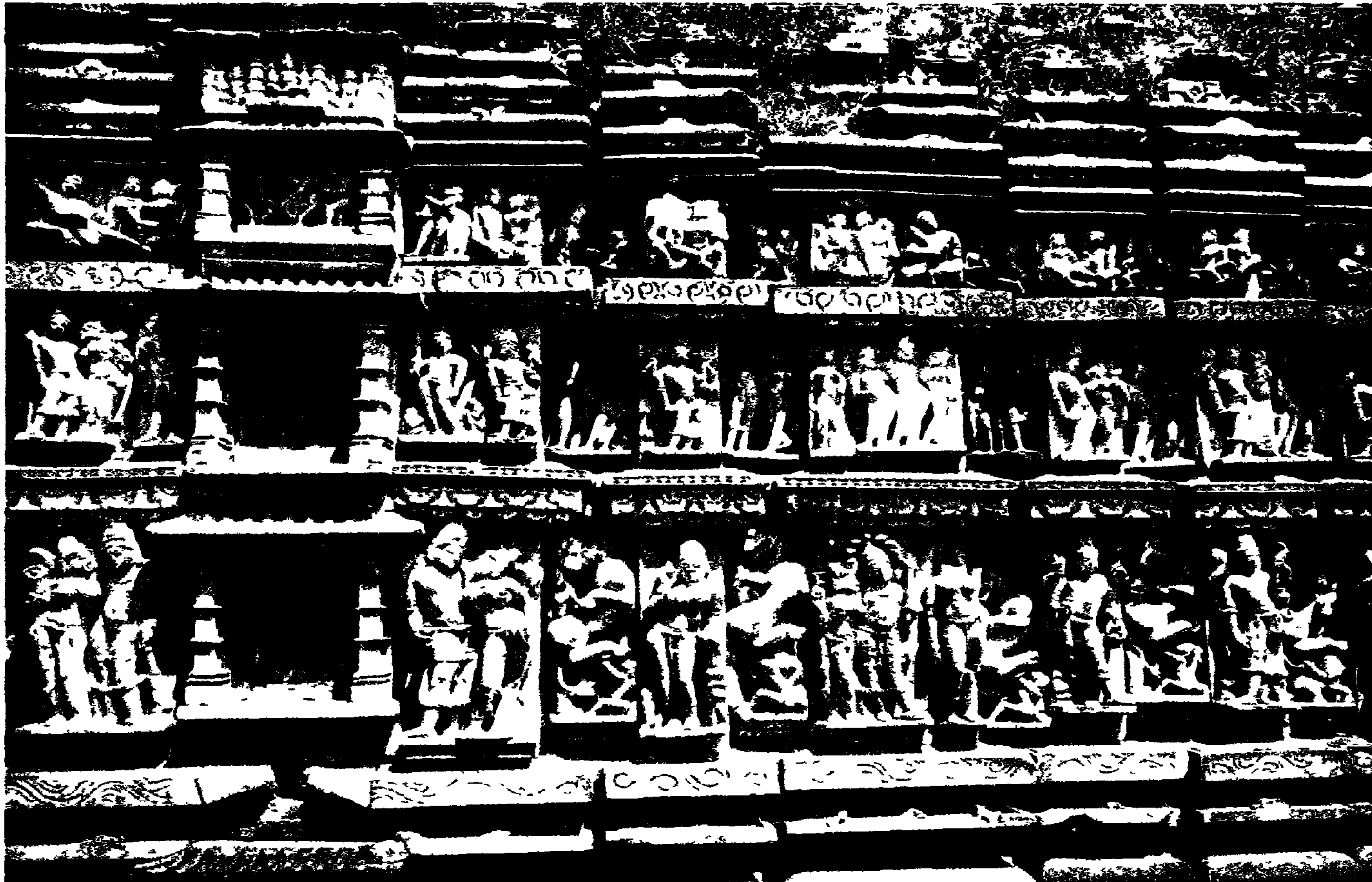


Fig. 5? Jaina Temple of Pārsvanātha, Sculptures, Sauth facade, Khajurāho

Plate XXI

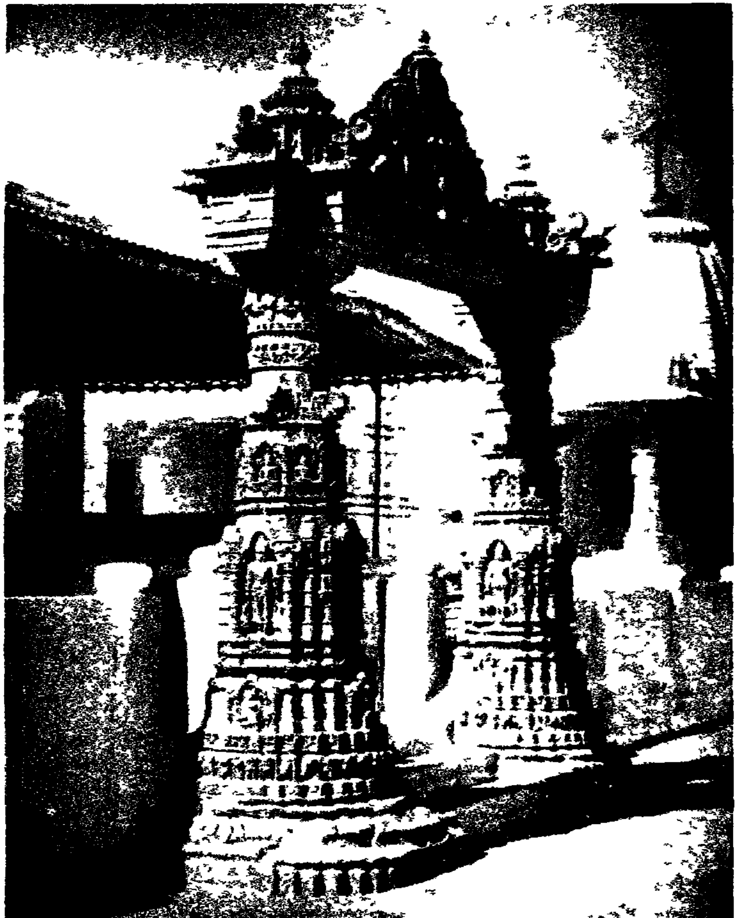


Fig 53 Torana, Jaina temple Osiā



Fig 54 Vajrankusi Vidyadevi, Vimala Vasahi, Abu

Plate XXII



Fig 55 Kīcaka dwarf, Pillar, Luna Vasahi, Abu



Fig 56 Pillar Temple No 12, Devagarh Fort

Plate XXIII



Fig. 57 Temples, Satruñjaya

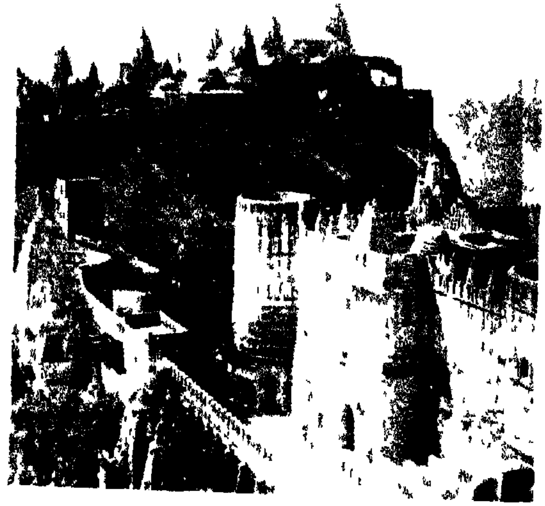


Fig. 58 Temples, Satruñjaya

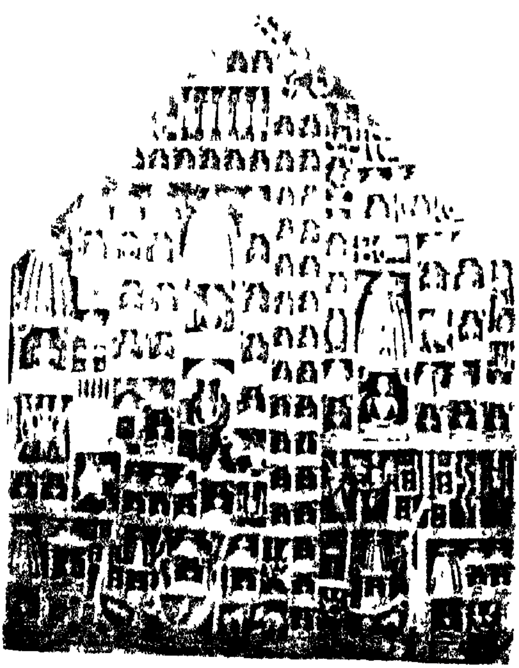


Fig. 59 Satruñjaya-Girnār Paṭṭa, Rāṇakpur

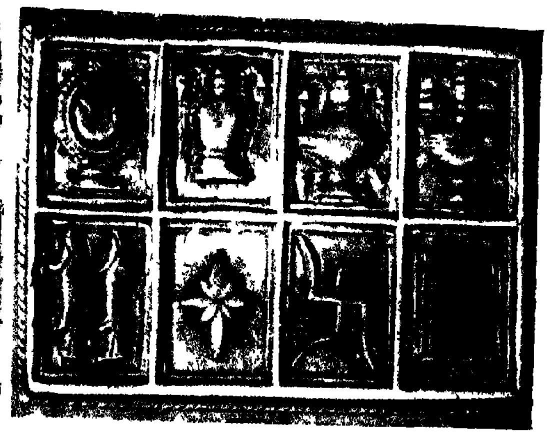


Fig. 60 Aṣṭamaṅgala Plaque, Bronze, Baroda

Plate XXIV



Fig. 61 Porch etc., Mālādevī temple, Gyāraspur, Madhya Bharat



Fig. 62 Śikhara of Māladevī temple, Gyāraspur, Madhya Bharat

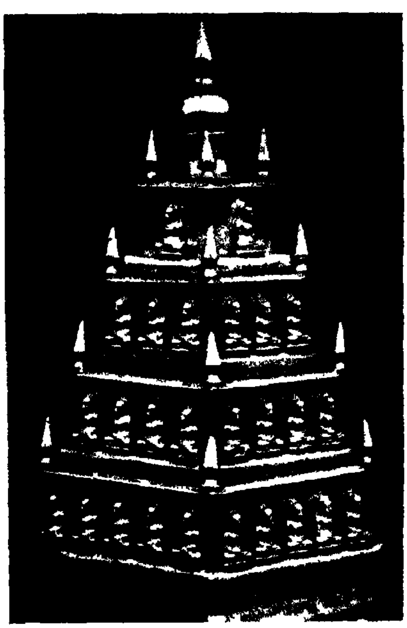


Fig. 63 Nandīśvara-bimba, Jaina temple, Kolhapur

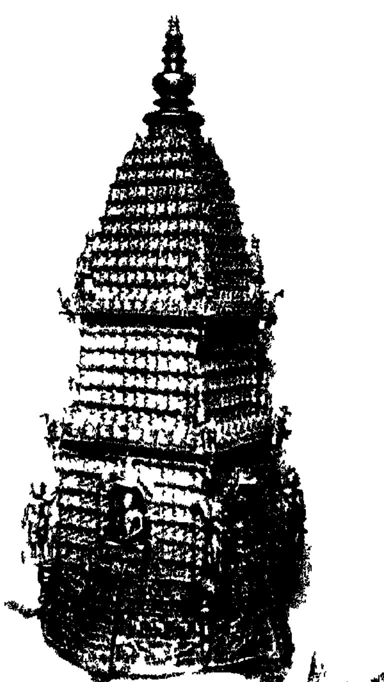


Fig. 64 Sahasrakūṭa Sculpture, Bronze, Pātan

Plate XXV



Fig 65 Jina, Palm Leaf Ms, Nisītha Cūrṇi, d 1182 V S, Cambay



Fig 66 Sarasvatī, Palm Leaf Ms, Nisītha Cūrṇi, Cambay



Fig 67 Lintel, Mathurā Museum, Showing Śiva linga under a Caitya tree

Plate XXVI



Fig 68 Miniature Painting, Ms of Uttarādhyayana sūtra, Shri Hamsavijaya Collection, Baroda



Fig 69 Prajñapti Vidyādevī, Miniature on Palm leaf, Jaina Bhandāra, Chāni



Fig 70 Miniature of Lakṣmī, Upadeśamālā Ms, Cambay



Fig 71 Miniature of Mahāsumadhinī, Palm leaf Ms Upadeśamālā laghuvṛtti, Jaina Bhandāra, Cambay

Plate XXVII



Fig 72 Rock-cut Jina under big Caitya tree, Kalugumalai



Fig 73 Jina under big Caitya tree, Patan

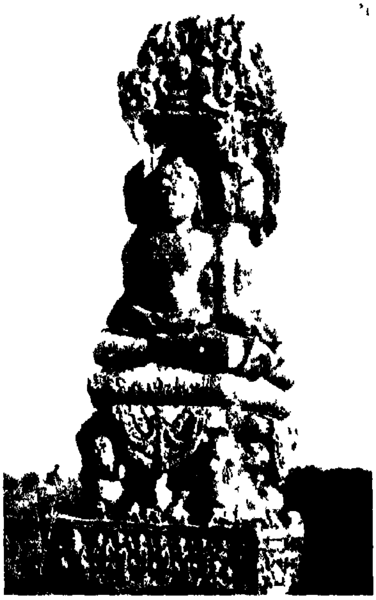


Fig 74 Caumukha Sculpture, Terahi, Madhya Bharat



Fig 75 Jina under big tree, Dig Jaina temple, Surat

Plate XXVIII

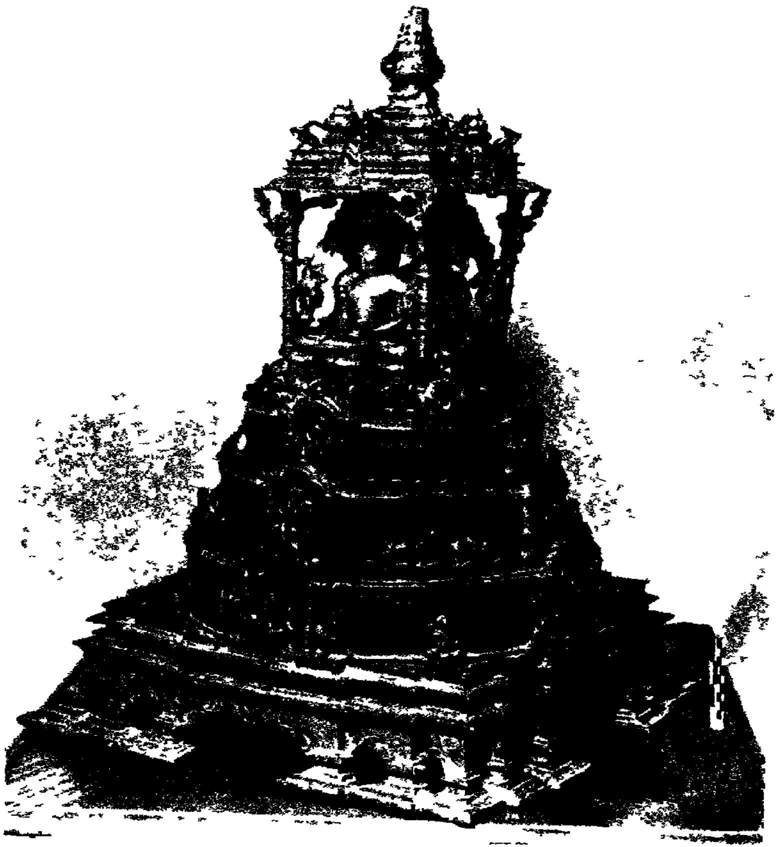


Fig 76 Samava-sarana, Dig Bronze C 1065 A D Surat

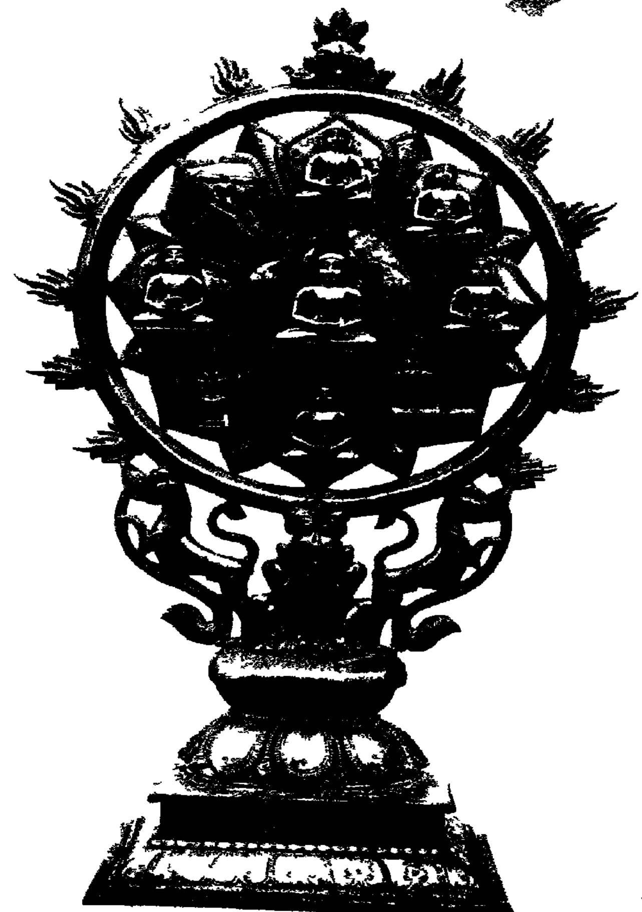


Fig 77 Nava-Devatā (Dig), Jina kāñchī

Plate XXIX

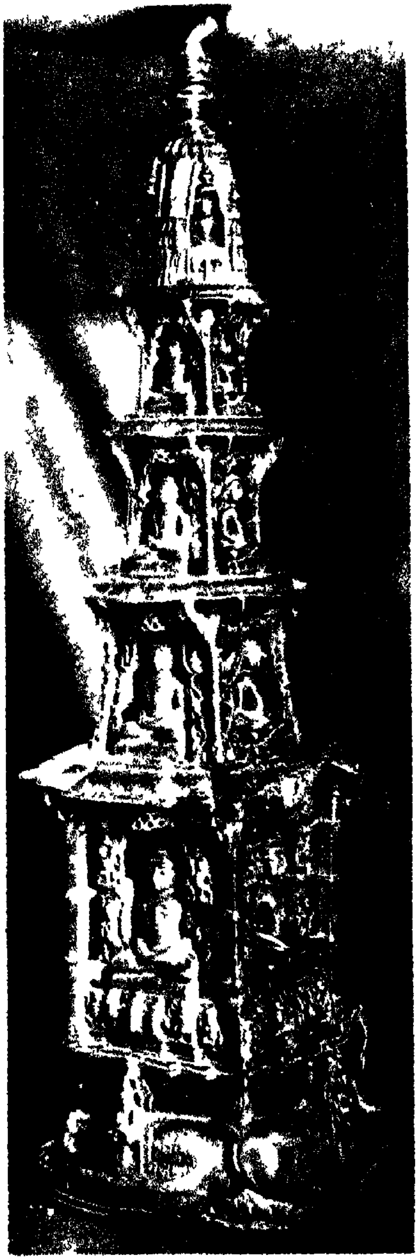


Fig. 78

Pañca Meru, Digambara Shrine, Surat

Plate XXX



Fig. 79. Sahasraphaṇa Pārśvanātha, Rāṇakpur, South Rajasthān

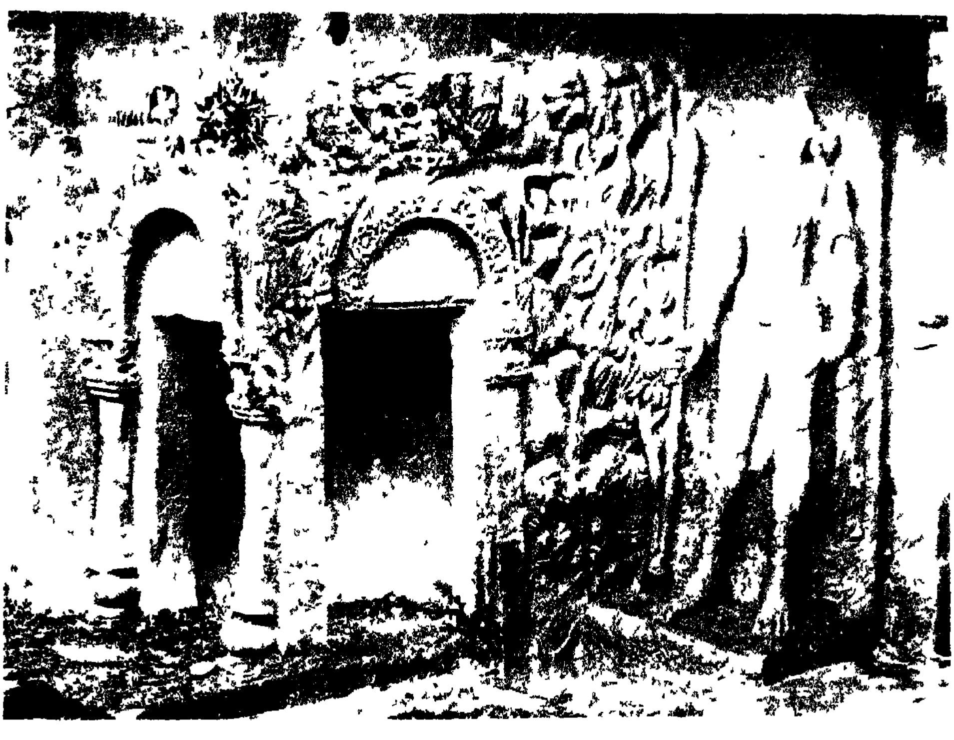


Fig. 81. Dvārapāla, Rānī Gumphā, Orissa

Plate XXXI

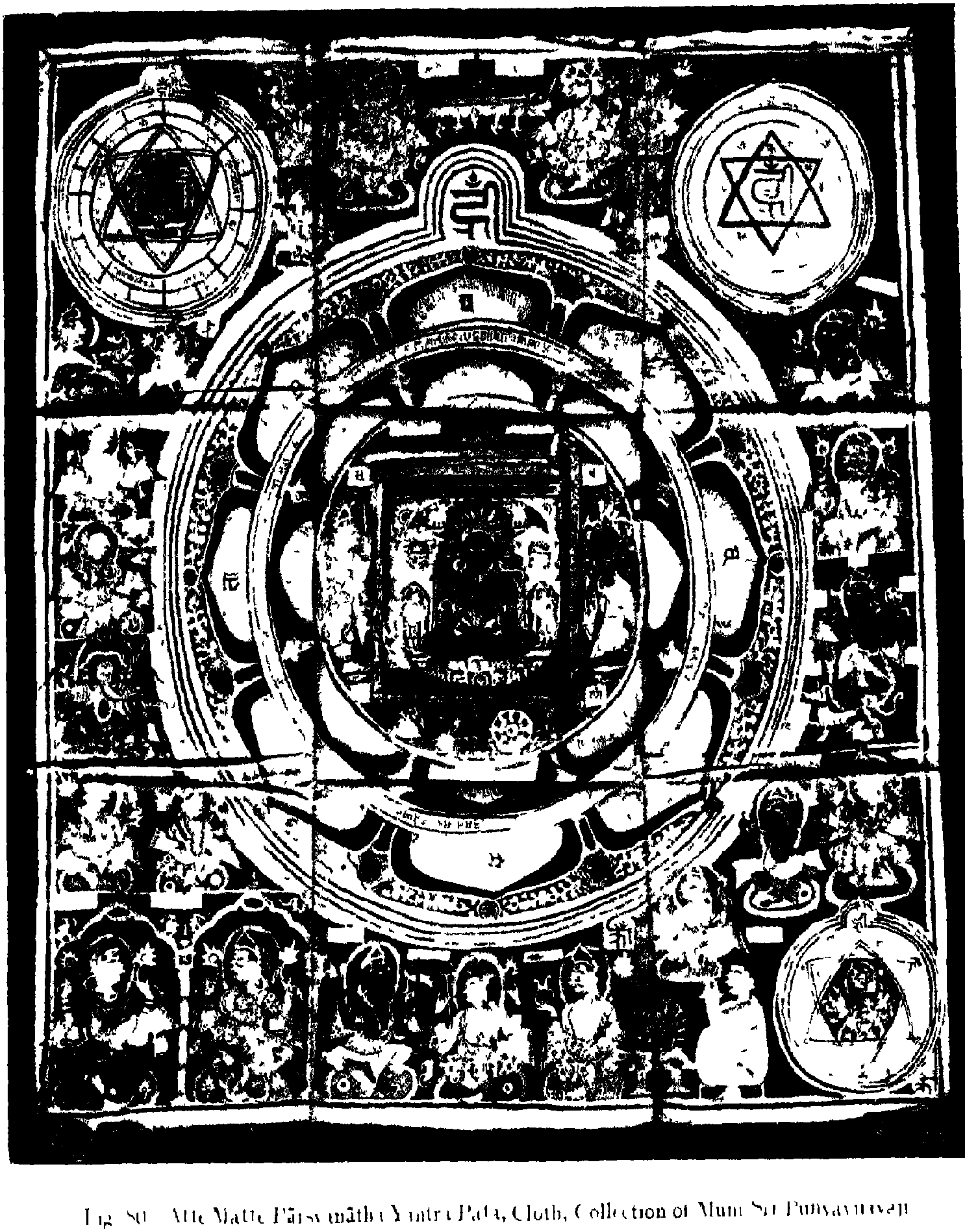


Fig. 80 Atte Matte Pārsvanātha Yantra Pata, Cloth, Collection of Muni Sri Punyavijayaji

Plate XXXII

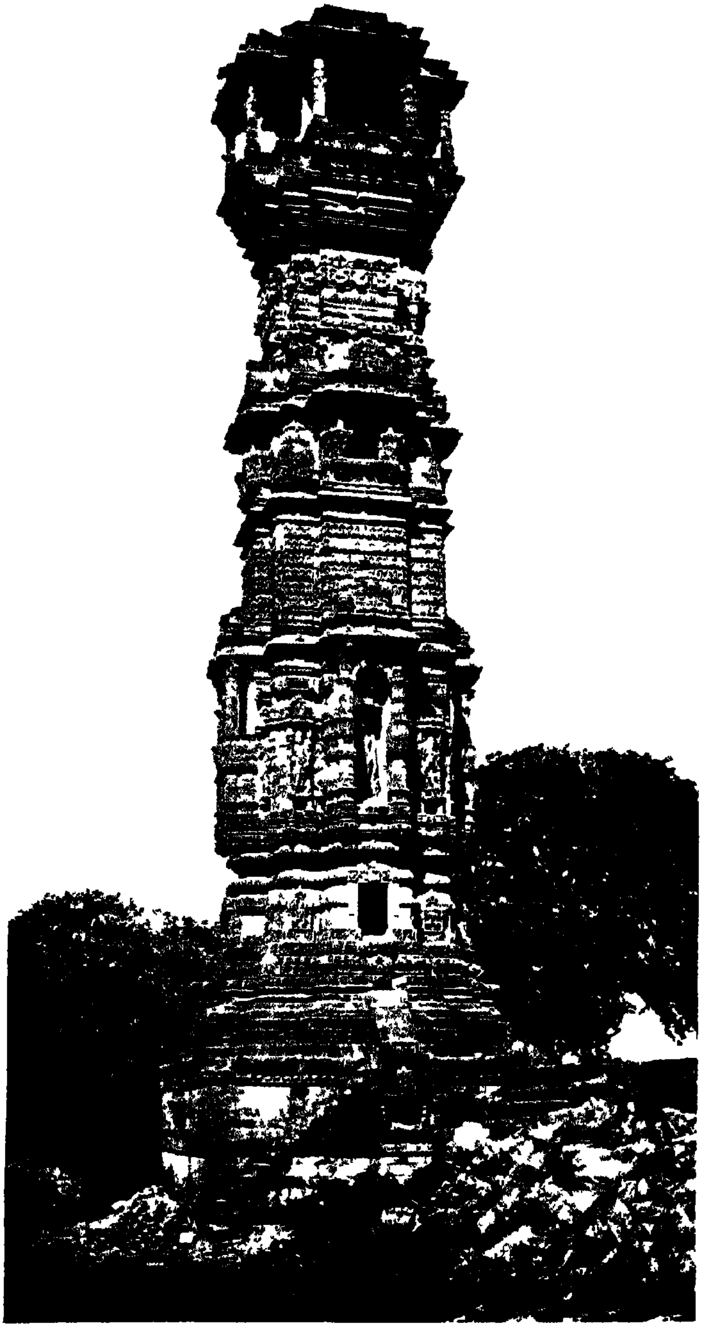


Fig. 82. Jaina Stambha, Chitor

Plate XXXIII

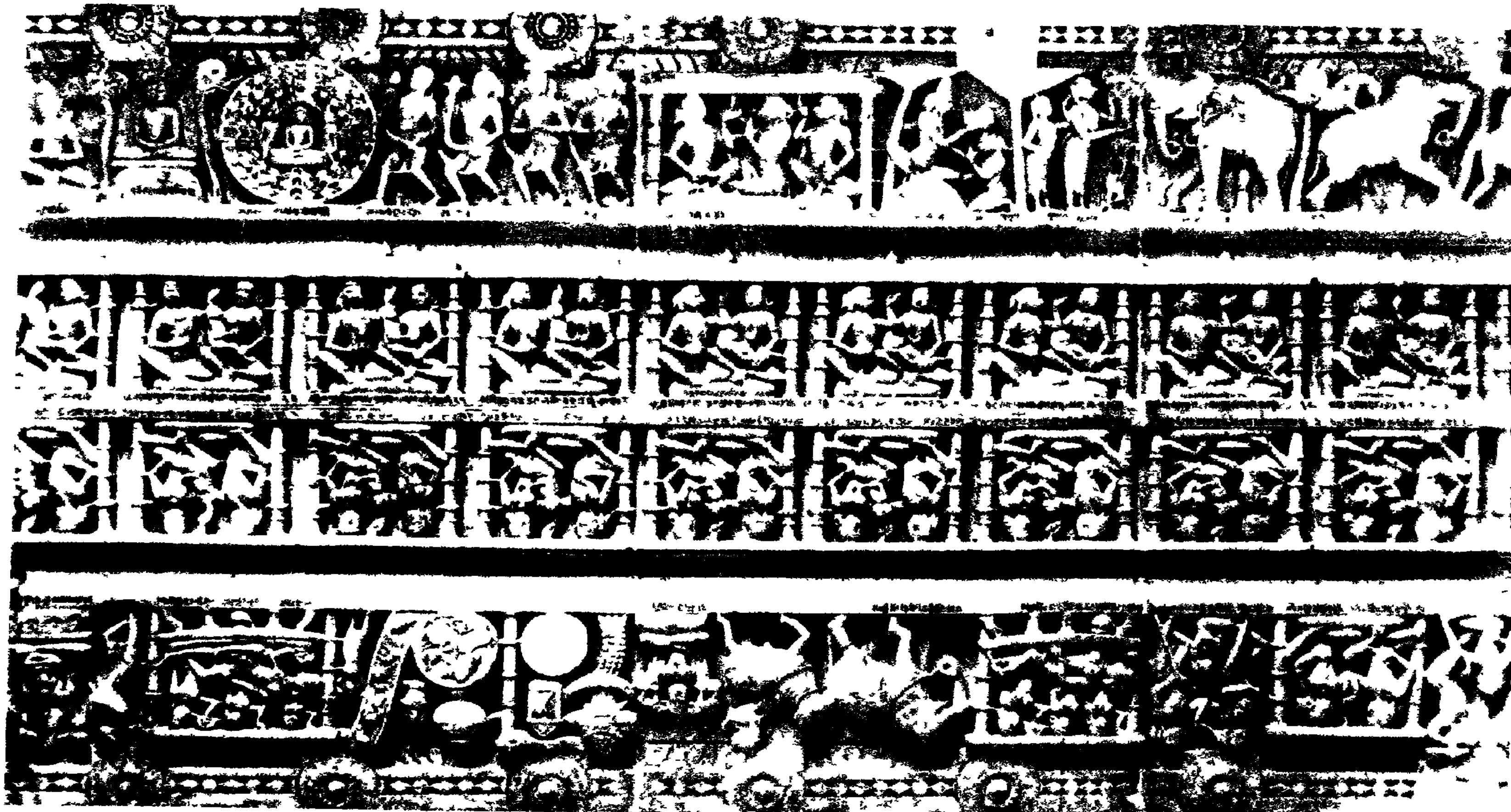


Fig 83 Life of Pārśvanātha and Parents of Tīrthankaras, Ceiling Panel, Kumbhāriā, N Gujarat

Plate XXXIV

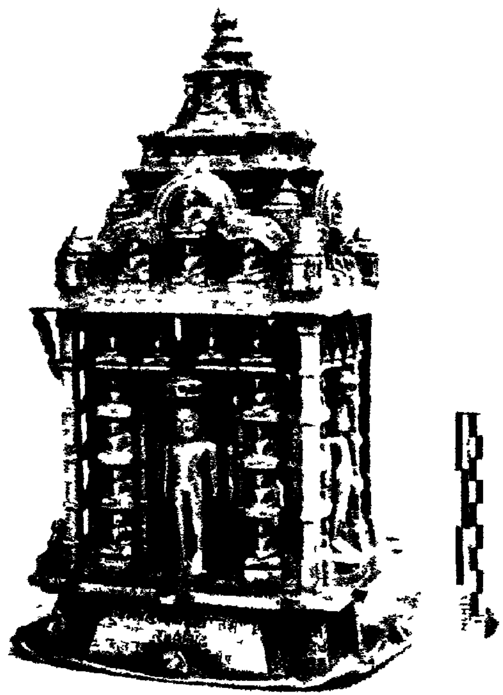


Fig 84
Chaumukha Bronze, Digambara Shrine, Surat

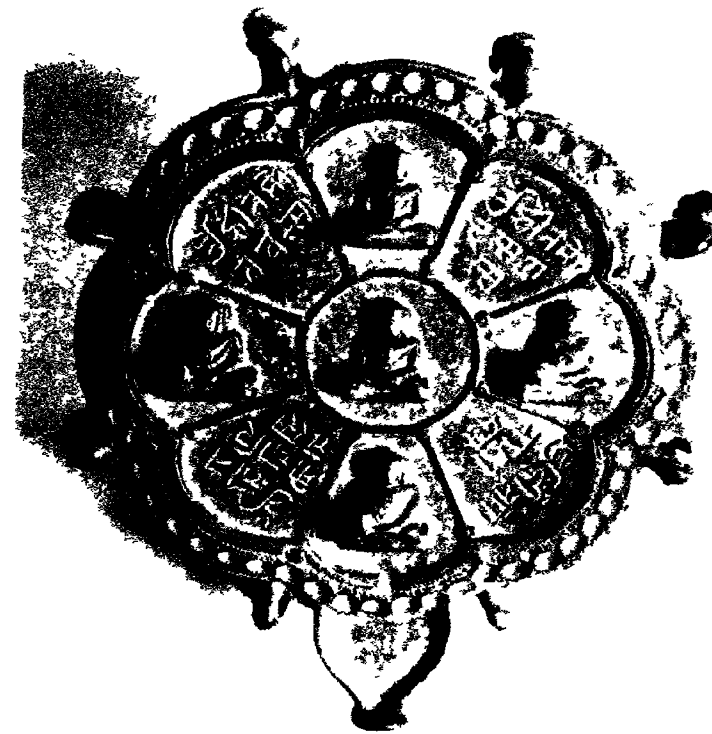


Fig 85 Siddha Cakra Bronze, Baroda Museum

Plate XXXV



Fig. 86. Jaina Shrine, Rāṇakpur, South Rājasthān

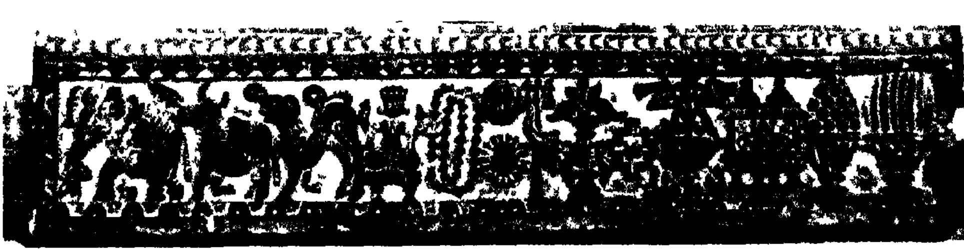


Fig. 87. Fourteen Dreams, Wooden Panel, Patan, North Gujarat

Plate XXXVI

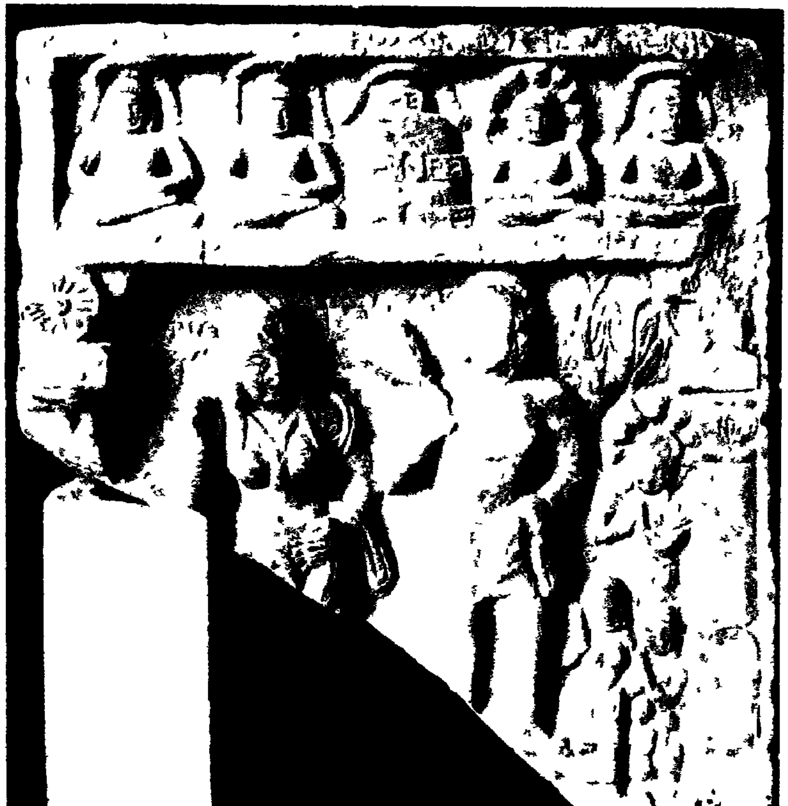


Fig 88 Tablet of Monk Kanha, Mathurā, Lucknow Museum

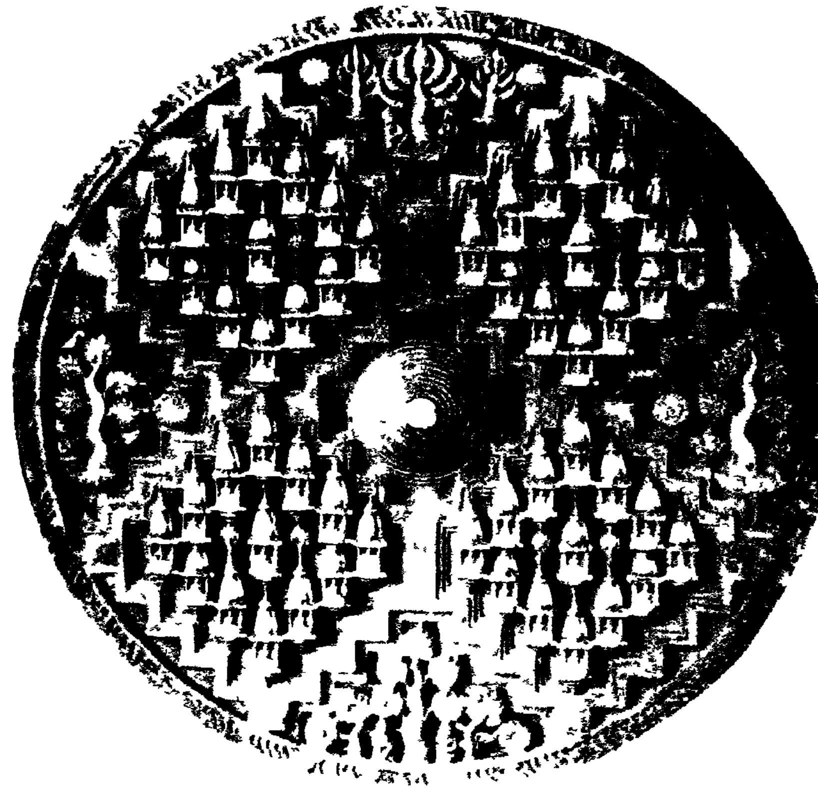


Fig 89 Nandīśvara dvīpa-paṭa, Rāṇakpur